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THE FIRST SYNOD OF NEW YORK, 1745-1758 AND ITS PERMANENT EFFECTS¹

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Union Theological Seminary, New York

The first Synod of New York, formed two hundred years and a month ago, was the outcome of a religious revival, the Great Awakening, which on a great scale transformed and regenerated organized Christianity in the American colonies. The life of the Synod is a brilliant example of this transforming and regenerating work, so that its history is of much more than Presbyterian significance. Among its permanent effects was the stamping upon American Presbyterianism of a lofty character derived from the great revival.

The Synod was the outcome also of a division in the church. In this case, it must be said, division in the church proved a signal benefit to the kingdom of God. In order to explain this division and thus explain the Synod, some introductory ground must be travelled over, in which very interesting men and events will be encountered. American Presbyterianism began in organized form, after there had been Presbyterian churches for as much as forty years, with the formation of the Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1705-06. Rapid growth caused enlargement of the presbytery to the Synod of Philadelphia in 1717. In 1729, a date here important, the territory of the Synod extended from southern New York to the Chesapeake Bay region. It comprised three presbyteries, Long Island, Philadelphia and New Castle in Delaware, and had twenty-seven ministers; we have no other statistics. In the province of New York there were churches on Long Island, in New York City, in Westchester County, and west of the Hudson. The young church already showed a quality which was to be one source of its influence in colonial America. It was not homogeneous, but diverse in character. It contained many people of New England birth or parentage, because of the movement of New Englanders into Long Island, New York City and the Hudson valley, northern New Jersey, and

¹ A somewhat enlarged form of an address delivered before the Synod of New York of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, in its sixty-third annual meeting in Rochester, New York, on October 16, 1945, in celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the formation of the first Synod of New York.

also further south. This deserves emphasis here, because the New England element was strong in the first Synod of New York, and furthermore because it is constantly said that colonial Presbyterianism was mainly Scotch-Irish. Scotch-Irish there were in the Synod, many of them, because of the large Ulster immigration into southeastern Pennsylvania and other parts. Beside these two larger groups, there were Scots, not Scotch-Irish, Welsh, English.

This year 1729 is memorable for other reasons, and also for that it saw in a commanding place in the Synod one of the two greatest men of colonial Presbyterianism, Jonathan Dickinson, who ought to be held in grateful memory as a representative of the best things in our church. Born in Massachusetts and a graduate of Yale, in 1729 he was midway in his long service as the strong and beloved pastor of the church in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and the first citizen of that important town. By his preaching, then called "weighty and moving", and his thoughtful writing he was giving promise of what he was to become, a foremost evangelist of the Great Awakening and a theologian of high repute on both sides of the ocean. Already "the ablest and most influential member"² of the Synod of Philadelphia, he was to be the acknowledged leader of the Synod of New York and also the first president of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University. Reading about Jonathan Dickinson draws one's heart to him as is true of few men after two hundred years, and what was said of him at his death is understood: "As he lived desired of all so never any person in these parts died more lamented".³

What called Dickinson into action in 1729 was the question of ministerial subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms. This, which had not been the practice of the American Presbyterian church, was strongly urged, especially by Scotch-Irish ministers, who desired in this respect a following of Irish and Scottish example. The New England men in the Synod under Dickinson's leadership opposed subscription, not because of theological differences, but for the sake of evangelical liberty. "I have no worse opinion of the Assemblies Confession," Dickinson wrote, "for the second article in the xxth chapter; *God alone is Lord of the Conscience, &c . . .* and I must tell you that to subscribe this article, and *impose* the rest,

2 C. Hodge, *Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (Philadelphia, 1851), Part I, 143.

3 E. F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth* (New York, 1868), 351.

appears to me the most glorious contradiction".⁴ But so determined were the "subscribers" that there was peril of division; and it was through Dickinson's wisdom and love of unity that agreement was reached. In 1729 the Synod enacted the famous Adopting Act.⁵ Candidates and entering ministers were to assent to the Confession and Catechisms "as being in all the essential and necessary articles good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine". But any person objecting to anything in them might state "any scruple", and the Synod or the Presbytery, if it judged the scruple "to be only about articles not essential or necessary", should still admit him; so that the principle of liberty was declared. On the same day the members of the Synod expressed their assent to the Confession and Catechisms, except for portions relating to church and state, and in 1730 this was voted to be the standard attitude.⁶ That differences as to the meaning of the subscription still existed is shown by the fact that in 1736, in a meeting of the Synod from which the liberals were absent, it was asserted to be "without the least variation or alteration".⁷ This was later referred to by conservatives as "our last explication of the adopting act."⁸ It is clear that interpretation of the subscription in the freedom of the gospel was held by the men who were to form the Synod of New York, and here already appeared a part of this Synod's spirit.

By 1729 the power which was to produce the Great Awakening, and therefore the Synod of New York, was already working. Gilbert Tennent—a name great in this history—was then maintaining in the Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick, New Jersey, what was soon called "an awakening ministry." "Awakening" describes what came, in ways forever a cause of praise to God, to American and British Christianity in this second quarter of the eighteenth century, a time in America and Britain of widespread coldness and deadness. The main cause of Gilbert Tennent's awakening ministry was that extraordinary and unaccountable man, his father William Tennent. A clergyman of the Anglican Church of Ireland, in 1718 he came to America and joined the Presbyterian church.⁹ Becoming pastor at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, northeast of Philadelphia, and see-

4 Quoted in C. A. Briggs, *American Presbyterianism* (New York, 1885), 213.

5 *Records of the Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia, 1841), 94. (Hereafter cited as *Records, etc.*)

6 *Records, etc.*, 94-5, 98.

7 *Ib.*, 127.

8 *Ib.*, 157.

9 *Ib.*, 51.

ing the need for good ministers, he established a school in a log house, later called, first in derision, then in honor, the Log College. There he trained for the ministry his four sons and some twelve other boys. He gave them good classical educations, and something far more important. We know little about William Tennent's early life and the influences that made him what he was. We must say that he was raised up by God in a faithless dry time to impart to his students living knowledge of the gospel as a power of salvation, a power to change men and make them new in Christ, and to inspire them to be such fervent evangelists as they all became.

Gilbert Tennent in New Brunswick did not at first show the effect of his father's training. But the fire that was in him was fanned to burning by the example and friendship of a neighbor, Theodorus Frelinghuysen, who in his Dutch Reformed churches in the Raritan valley was giving the first characteristic preaching of the Great Awakening and arousing revival. Under this influence Gilbert Tennent began to show what was in him, and to preach in the way that later caused Whitefield to say that he "never before heard such a searching sermon."¹⁰ Under his ministry revival came in his church and his region. Then there settled about New Brunswick ministers of like spirit, mostly Log College alumni. New religious life appeared in many places. As was natural when religion had been lifeless and sleepy, there were emotional manifestations, outcries, prostrations, people overcome and carried out of churches, the things which more or less marked the Great Awakening everywhere and roused criticism. But this was superficial; there were in good measure real strengthening of vital Christianity and real moral renewal. The Awakening was already showing itself a movement of regeneration and revolution in character and life, a power for righteousness. Out of this revival came the celebrated Presbytery of New Brunswick, formed in 1738 by the Synod of Philadelphia. Its members, beside Gilbert Tennent, were his brother William, who had followed his brother John at Freehold, Samuel Blair, another student of father Tennent and a burning and a shining light, John Cross, a Scot, and Eleazar Wales, a graduate of Yale.¹¹

But revival almost always meets opposition in the church—so Wesley was soon to find in England—and this revival met

¹⁰ *A Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal from his Embarking after the Embargo to his Arrival at Savannah in Georgia* (London, 1740), 35.

¹¹ *Records, etc.*, 138, 143; C. H. Maxson: *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (Chicago, 1920), 33.

opposition in the Presbyterian church. By 1738 the church had grown largely by the settlement in Pennsylvania of people from the north of Ireland. The ministers who had come with them were strangers to the kind of Christianity which was spreading in the New Brunswick region. Their old-world training had given them little understanding of this high-wrought religion, this deep conviction of sin, crying sense of need of salvation, rapture of faith, joyful assurance of being born again, passion for goodness. Their conception of religion was largely static and formal. That people should have instruction correct according to the Westminster Confession was their chief concern. To make clear their position, they really held that the primary need of ministers was not Christian experience, not that they should be converted men, but that they should be educated and moral and orthodox and regularly ordained. Such men were for the time in the majority in the Synod of Philadelphia. They brought about the adoption by the Synod in 1738 of two acts which can be interpreted only as designed to hinder the spread of the New Jersey revival.¹²

Nevertheless this revival spread, and revival came elsewhere, from 1738. The New Brunswick men itinerated ardently, first within their own bounds, later, as interest rose and appeals came from the people, in south Jersey, Maryland and Delaware, reviving old churches and producing new churches. In a region hitherto unawakened, northern New Jersey, new life appeared. Long seasons of deep religious concern came in Newark, under the Presbyterian minister Aaron Burr, and in Elizabeth under Dickinson. Some of the people here had come from the parts of New England which had known the revival that began under Edwards, and its influence prepared them for something like it. The power of the movement required of Burr and Dickinson caution against emotional excesses. Again, in the center of anti-revivalism among the Scotch-Irish of southeastern Pennsylvania revival came down. It began, in an extraordinary way which he has narrated,¹³ in the Fagg's Manor congregation of Samuel Blair, and thence was carried into other churches. Within our present Synod similar movements broke out in the Orange County highlands and in eastern Long Island, this latter showing in the preaching and actions of James Davenport the extravagances which marred the Awakening. At the same time

¹² C. H. Maxson, *op. cit.*, 34-5.

¹³ J. Tracy, *The Great Awakening* (Boston, 1842), 24 ff.

Frelinghuysen's work was at its strongest. But the greatest impulse came from Whitefield, who in 1739 and 1740 preached from Delaware to Maine, especially in the middle colonies. He brought essentially the message proclaimed by the American evangelists, the new birth through the Spirit of God and the new life in Christ, and he found among them brothers in soul. His tremendous power and the throngs which he moved are a legend, but true. He aroused fresh revivals, as in the New York City congregation of the Presbyterian minister Ebenezer Pemberton, and bound together the revivals in progress. The Great Awakening in 1740 and 1741 in the middle colonies was at its height of enthusiasm and energy and fire.

But Presbyterian opposition, centering in Pennsylvania, spoke out determinedly. We must try to understand this, in men who according to their lights sincerely sought the good of the church, because it was this opposition that led to the formation of the Synod of New York. Against the revival and especially against the New Brunswick evangelists and Whitefield a campaign of criticism was aimed, in sermons, pamphlets, newspapers, by Presbyterians and not by them alone.¹⁴ It was said that some of the preachers over-emphasized "the terrors of the law" and threw people into despair, which others of them admitted. Some of the experiences to which testimony was borne, it was said, were "exercises" caused by the imagination, or contagion, and delusive; which was inevitable in general religious excitement, and was acknowledged as a danger by the wiser revivalists, as it was by Edwards. The physical demonstrations at the preaching, the weepings, shouts, faintings were objected to, and for this there was some ground, as Dickinson for example thought. It was charged that the evangelists intruded in other men's parishes and divided churches. There were cases of this, but fewer than was alleged; the significant fact here was the spread of vital religion among the people and their desire for preaching that would feed it.

Above all there was the accusation made against the Awakening everywhere, that fills so large a place in its literature, "ensoriousness." The constant repetition of this word reveals a very sore subject. Ministers and people who criticized the revival or did not support it were charged, it was copiously said, with being unconverted and no Christians. The preachers of the revival and the folk influenced by it laid claim, it was asserted,

14 C. H. Maxson, *op. cit.*, 66-7, 69 ff.

to mystical certainties which enabled them to judge spiritual conditions in themselves and others, to have assurance of their own "gracious state" and to set at nought those who did not go with them. The "Protestation" against the revivalists submitted to the Synod of Philadelphia in 1741 speaks of "their rash judging and condemning all who do not fall in with their measures, both ministers and people, as carnal, graceless and enemies to the work of God."¹⁵ For all this there is, as is well known, some ground; but look at the situation, as concerned the Presbyterian church. According to all accounts religion there before the Awakening was what it was in other churches, formal and weak and cold, in great need of revival. Archibald Alexander, father of Princeton Seminary, describing the late 1720s, said "The state of vital piety was very low in the Presbyterian church in America." Indeed there were ministers without Christian experience; to quote Alexander again, "as to the vital power of godliness, there is reason to believe, that it was little known or spoken of."¹⁶ There were in the churches unconverted people, dead Christians. Into such conditions came fervent evangelists, preaching with all their hearts a revolutionary gospel, and meeting indifference or active opposition. Is it strange that they and the people they persuaded were tempted to be "censorious"? Such they were, and they went too far with it. In March, 1740, Gilbert Tennent, in a region rife with Presbyterian opposition, preached his famous Nottingham sermon on *The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry*. This really terrible condemnation of conditions in the church, understood to be directed against Presbyterian critics of the revival, roused their anger. It was the moving cause of the division in the church. Some of Tennent's language was unjustifiable, as he himself later acknowledged. But he was striking at something real and evil.

The lines were drawn now between friends and critics of the revival, New Side and Old Side as they were called. In the Synod of 1741 came the crisis. In the "Protestation" twelve Pennsylvania ministers denounced the men of New Brunswick Presbytery and their sympathizers, including Samuel Blair. They repeated in substance the criticisms of the revival which have been noticed, and added other accusations. They charged violation of order in licensure and ordination, regarding which

¹⁵ *Records, etc.*, 158.

¹⁶ A. Alexander, *Biographical Sketches of the Founder, and Principal Alumni of the Log College* (Princeton, N. J., 1845), 22.

New Brunswick Presbytery had questioned synodical authority. In a revealing sentence they found fault with these men for teaching that inner conviction, rather than regular ordination, constituted a call of God to the ministry, and that the preaching of ministers without Christian experience "can be of no saving benefit to souls." They showed their spirit in a blanket reference to "their unwearied, unscriptural, anti-presbyterial, uncharitable, divisive practices." The signers declared that those against whom they protested had no right to be in the Synod and that further union with them was impossible.¹⁷ The men of the Presbytery of New York, who might have moderated the conflict, were absent. The outcome was what Charles Hodge, a defender of the Old Side, called "a disorderly rupture."¹⁸ No regular action was taken. The New Brunswick men, finding themselves in a minority and proscribed, withdrew from the meeting,¹⁹ later asserting their rightful place as members of the Synod.²⁰ From this breach events moved to the formation of the Synod of New York.

Regarding the religious character of the parties to this division there has always been difference, as regarding other divisions resulting from the Great Awakening. Charles Hodge admitted concerning the Old Side that there was "opposition to evangelical religion" "on the part of some few individuals, it is to be feared"; but maintained that generally the opposition was "merely to extravagance and disorder."²¹ The more one reads in the times the more he is forced, though reluctantly, to lean to the judgment of Archibald Alexander. He had studied this history carefully, and had known old people who had lived through these events, and he was a wise man and a man of God. He wrote: "I cannot doubt, that in a good degree, the contest between the parties, was between the friends and the enemies of true religion. . . . It is therefore my deliberate opinion that in the general, the Tennents and the Blairs and their coadjutors, were men approved of God, and greatly honored as the instruments of winning many souls; while their opponents were, for the most part, unfriendly to vital piety."²² In the light of history, the Old Side was on the wrong side. Its members allowed themselves to condemn and hinder a movement which, granting its faults and the

17 *Records, etc.*, 157 ff.

18 C. Hodge, *op. cit.*, Part II, 158.

19 *Records, etc.*, 158-59.

20 C. H. Maxson, *op. cit.*, 76.

21 C. Hodge, *op. cit.*, Part II, 180-81.

22 A. Alexander, *op. cit.*, 291-92.

errors of its supporters, brought Christianity in power, which they had not done, and which had the promise of the future.

In the Synod the men of the Presbytery of New York, led by Dickinson and Burr and Pemberton, strove for three years to heal the breach. They protested against the illegal exclusion of the New Brunswick men and said that they could not continue to sit in the Synod if these men were not restored. They protested against the constant criticism of the revival. They sought to bring about reconciliation and fellowship in the work of the church. But from the Old Side they met only obstinacy and more hostility to the revival. Finally, in 1745, the Presbytery of New York proposed that a new synod should be erected, the two to act in concert and kindness.²³

Hence the Synod of New York met at Elizabeth on September 19, 1745, with Dickinson as moderator. It contained the presbyteries of New York, New Brunswick and New Castle, this last being a new formation in the southern region. The Presbytery of New York covered Long Island, the rest of southern New York and northern New Jersey. The Synod at this first meeting bore testimony for the revival, "the work of God's grace among us." It adopted the Westminster standards as they were adopted in 1729, which meant that subscribers were not bound to verbal assent. In order to settle the vexed question of ecclesiastical authority, which had underlain some of the trouble in the Synod of Philadelphia, it was agreed that decisions in discipline and order should be by majority vote; and that any member conscientiously dissenting from a decision should peaceably withdraw, if the Synod judged the point "essentially necessary to the well-being of our churches." To avoid affairs like the "Protestation" of 1741, it was agreed that charges against ministers should be only by regular discipline. The Synod declared that all ministers competent in knowledge, orthodox in doctrine, correct in life and "diligent in promoting the important designs of vital godliness" should be admitted to fellowship. To avoid divisions in churches, it promised friendly relations and correspondence with the Synod of Philadelphia.²⁴ So the Synod of New York stood for the evangelism of the revival, for liberty in the gospel, for reasonable authority, for an open door to Christians, for peace and unity in the church.

The Synod at once put into action its evangelistic, expan-

²³ *Records, etc.*, 181.

²⁴ *Records, etc.*, 233-34.

sionist spirit, its purpose to build up the church. The middle colonies, over which the Synod extended, contained widespread religious need. By the middle of the eighteenth century the American frontier was developing, with its characteristic problems. Population was growing by immigration from Europe and by moving about among the colonies; Americans had begun to be "a society in motion." Here were many people in new homes, without ministers or churches. By 1745 the Awakening had somewhat spent its force. But there were thousands of people who had felt its power and spread its spirit. Outbursts of new religious life still came. This whole situation meant need for establishing churches and supplying them and strengthening them. The minutes of the Synod record many appeals from people lacking religious care and many appointments of ministers to visit them. So active in such work were the Synod and its presbyteries that whereas in 1745 there were twenty-two ministers in the Synod, in 1758, at the end of its separate life, there were seventy-four,²⁵ of whom practically all were pastors of churches, signifying very rapid growth. In these thirteen years two presbyteries were added in the middle colonies, Suffolk on Long Island and Abington in Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey.²⁶ Meanwhile the Synod of Philadelphia grew only from twenty-six ministers to thirty.²⁷

While the Awakening slackened in the middle colonies, it came with power in Virginia, and here were events of great moment, under the Synod of New York and its presbyteries. Presbyterians were among the numbers who had settled in the upland region of Virginia and the Valley. The minutes of the Synod record repeated requests from these "destitute settlements," and appointments of ministers to go so far south, far indeed under conditions of travel in those days. The story is familiar of the extraordinary spontaneous revival in Hanover County from the reading of religious books, without churches or ministers. Hearing of the wonderful preaching elsewhere in Virginia and in North Carolina of a New Side missionary, William Robinson, another Log College alumnus, these people in Hanover sent for him. He preached among them, and so did other New Side evangelists. Congregations were formed and earnest religious life developed. Finally there was sent to

²⁵ *Ib.*, 233, 280-81.

²⁶ *Ib.*, 236, 246.

²⁷ C. A. Briggs, *op. cit.*, 314-15.

these parts by the Synod of New York's Presbytery of New Castle the other of the two greatest men of colonial Presbyterianism, Samuel Davies. Born in Delaware of Welsh descent, he studied in an academy taught by Samuel Blair, so that he stood in the New Side tradition. Arriving in Virginia in 1747, twenty-four years old, he preached and travelled in the very spirit of Paul, and in three years he was ministering to eight far distant congregations, four more than he had found. "The extremes of my congregation lie eighty or ninety miles apart, and the dissenters under my care are scattered through six or seven different counties."²⁸ About the quality of his sermons, of which we have three volumes, the most expressive thing that can be said is that they can still be read, which is true of very few sermons after two hundred years, and that reading them so stirs the mind and heart as to explain their thrill and influence when preached with Davies' gracious and commanding personality behind them. Through his eleven years in Hanover County he maintained a ministry in the spirit of the Great Awakening, striving, he said, "To preach repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ—To alarm secure impenitents; to reform the profligate; to undeceive the hypocrite; to raise up the hands that hang down, and to strengthen the feeble knees."²⁹ Revival and growth so attended his work that the Synod of New York sent six ministers into the region.³⁰ So came about the Presbytery of Hanover, formed in 1755 under the Synod of New York,³¹ long a center of evangelism and Presbyterianism.

Davies brought the name of the Synod of New York into the conflict for religious liberty in Virginia. Repeated efforts were made to hinder his preaching by representatives of the weak Anglican establishment and the colonial authorities. Boldly and tenaciously, by negotiation with the government, in court as his own advocate, by publication, by enlisting the advice and help of leading English dissenters, Davies upheld his right to preach under the law, involving the rights of other dissenters. Notable in this story was his *Appendix Proving the Right of the Synod of New York to the Religious Liberties and Immunities allowed to Protestant Dissenters*,³² in which he

28 W. H. Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1850), I, 183.

29 W. H. Foote, *op. cit.*, I, 194.

30 W. M. Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia* (Durham, N. C., 1930), 89-90.

31 *Records, etc.*, 264-65.

32 W. M. Gewehr, *op. cit.*, 84.

maintained against accusations emanating from the Old Side the Presbyterian character of the Synod. Partially successful in Virginia, Davies won complete legal success with the British government, when the Attorney General ruled against all attempts to limit the worship of dissenters.³³ Even after this some opposition continued in Virginia, but it soon ended, largely because of the increase of Presbyterian ministers and people under Davies' leadership and the power of his patriotic preaching in the French and Indian War, putting new heart into a despairing society.³⁴ So Samuel Davies in the name of the Synod of New York made a solid beginning of the struggle for religious liberty in Virginia, which came to full victory in Jefferson's Act for Establishing Religious Freedom in 1786.

What was done for missions by the Synod of New York is memorable in missionary history. It began before the Synod was formed. In 1740 three members of the Presbytery of New York, Dickinson, Burr and Pemberton, urged the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge to send missionaries to the Indians in Long Island, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. This, let us remember, was in the days when missionary efforts for non-Christians were few among Protestants, so that these men were of the pioneers. The Society appointed them its Correspondents and authorized them to employ missionaries. Hence Azariah Horton of the Presbytery of New York went to the Indians on eastern Long Island, where he worked for eleven years, building up churches two of which were living after a century. Another missionary the Correspondents found in a brilliant Yale student, David Brainerd—immortal name.³⁵ After a year among Indians near New Lebanon, in 1744 he was ordained by the Presbytery of New York, so that next year he became a member of the Synod, and took up his apostolate. He preached among Indians near Easton and went alone through the wilderness to tribes on the Susquehanna, a journey twice repeated. Then he settled among Indians whom he had gathered at Crosswicks, near Bordentown, New Jersey, and whom he later moved to lands of their own near Cranbury, at a place which he called Bethel. Here he taught a congregation of converts of whom it was said that many could "be proposed as examples of

33 W. M. Gewehr, *op. cit.*, 80-1.

34 George H. Bost, *Samuel Davies, Colonial Revivalist and Champion of Religious Toleration* (Chicago, 1944), 208. This pamphlet, by the pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Lewiston, N. Y., a part of his Ph.D. dissertation in the University of Chicago, gives a full authoritative account of Davies' achievements.

35 E. F. Hatfield, *op. cit.*, 346-47.

piety and godliness to all the white people around them." All this he accomplished in three years, alone and contending with illness. Dying in his thirtieth year, he left an undying legacy in his diary and journal, which were published first by Jonathan Edwards and later many times in America and Britain. They have been one of the strongest sources of missionary spirit in the English-speaking world and have made great missionaries, among them Henry Martyn of Persia, because through old-fashioned language and through some morbidity of religious experience inevitable in a sick man, there burns such a flame of love for the souls of men in Christ and such unconquerable zeal.

Another member of the Synod of New York, David Brainerd's brother John, appointed to succeed him in the care of the community at Bethel, trained the Indians for eight years until they were robbed of their lands. Meanwhile the Synod had been inspired by these missionary examples in its own fellowship. "The exigencies of the great affair of propagating the gospel among the heathen, being represented unto the Synod," so read the minutes of 1751, the Synod appointed an annual collection in the churches for missions. Next year it voted this money to John Brainerd, and also in later years.³⁶ This, I think, was the first case of an American church officially providing for missions, and John Brainerd was the first missionary supported by the American Presbyterian church. New lands being given to the Indians by the provincial government at Brotherton, in southern New Jersey, he cared there for them and for white people who had no other minister for the rest of his life, twenty-three years.³⁷ His support was carried on after the reunion of 1758 by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, so that the Synod of New York bequeathed its missionary interest to the reunited church.

In education the Synod of New York and its men gave inestimable service. Samuel Blair's academy at Fagg's Manor maintained the Log College tradition, producing Samuel Davies, John Rodgers, the famous minister of the First Church of New York, and Robert Smith, in turn a fruitful educational leader. Burning out at thirty-nine, Blair was succeeded by his brother John, also of the Log College, who carried on the school until he became professor in the College of New Jersey. Still another Log College alumnus, Samuel Finley, most ardent and aggres-

³⁶ *Records, etc.*, 245, 248, 273, 278.

³⁷ T. Brainerd, *Life of John Brainerd* (Philadelphia, 1865).

sive of itinerant preachers, founded the famous Nottingham Academy, still in service, where were trained not only ministers but also men notable in other callings. Robert Smith, Samuel Blair's student, set up a school at Pequea, Pennsylvania, from which came the founder of Jefferson College and presidents of the College of New Jersey and Union College. All these teachers under whom boys grew up to intellectual and spiritual strength and power of leadership were members of the Synod of New York.

But the Synod's greatest educational contribution was the creation of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University. Or rather the beginning was with the Presbytery of New York. In its part of the church most recruits for the ministry came from Yale and Harvard. But the ministers of the presbytery had come to distrust the New England colleges, where most of them had graduated, because opposition to the Awakening had developed there as elsewhere. So they determined to found a college which should train men for the ministry in the spirit of the message of the revival. It came into being in 1747 at Elizabeth, with Dickinson as its first president. Dying soon, he was followed by Aaron Burr of Newark, and the college moved thither, to stay for eight years. Then it moved again, to Princeton, in the bounds of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, whose members took strong interest in it. Burr was succeeded in the presidency by his father-in-law, Jonathan Edwards, who died after only a month. The next president was Samuel Davies, and the next Samuel Finley. Then John Blair was acting president until the arrival from Scotland of John Witherspoon in 1768. Thus for its first twenty-one years the college was led by ministers of the Synod of New York, and what was more important by preachers of the Awakening. All these years it was sending into the ministry men of the spirit of the revival. Of the seventy-nine ministers whom the Synod received in its thirteen years³⁸ many were graduates of its own college.

The Synod indeed made the College of New Jersey its own. From 1752 it urged its churches to take collections for its support.³⁹ Next year the Synod, at the request of the trustees of the college, appointed Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent to go to "Europe" to raise money.⁴⁰ They carried a letter from the Synod

38 C. A. Briggs, *op. cit.*, 315.

39 *Records, etc.*, 248 and *passim*.

40 *Ib.*, 252.

to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland reciting the great need of ministers—"no less than forty vacant congregations at present under the care of the Synod, besides many more which are incapable at present to support ministers"⁴¹—and urging that the main reliance of the Synod for the supply of its churches must be the College of New Jersey, which was giving good service but with scanty resources. Davies and Tennent went, and after travels and canvassing and speechmaking in England, Scotland and Ireland most interestingly recounted in Davies' journal⁴² they brought back money beyond expectation, which substantially strengthened the college, and also money for scholarships for students appointed by the Synod.⁴³ Certainly Princeton University, with its illustrious record, owes its creation to the Synod of New York.

During most of its life the Synod was working for the reunion of the church. In 1749 it proposed to the Synod of Philadelphia "that all our former differences be buried in perpetual oblivion and that . . . both Synods be united into one."⁴⁴ In the same year Gilbert Tennent published his *Irenicum*, urging reconciliation. The record shows how the Synod of New York strove for this, undiscouraged by rebuffs, standing its ground on matters of principle, patiently endeavoring to remove obstacles. Meanwhile moderation of feelings was proceeding; and doubtless Philadelphia was influenced by seeing itself fast outstripped in growth by New York. After nine years of negotiations, in 1758 the Synods united as the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. The plan of union⁴⁵ shows that in vital points the Synod of New York prevailed. The thing that had precipitated the rupture, the "Protestation" of 1741, was disavowed by the Synod of Philadelphia. A main contention of New York, that candidates for the ministry should give satisfaction as to "experimental acquaintance with religion" as well as to learning and orthodoxy, was agreed to; this went far to affect the character of the future ministry. The Synod of New York repeated its testimony to the Great Awakening as "a blessed work of God's Holy Spirit," and the united Synod agreed on a description of the kind of religion which the Awakening had propagated and the kind of changes this had wrought in men, and a declaration

41 *Ib.*, 257.

42 Davies' Journal is in W. H. Foote, *op. cit.*, I, 228-81.

43 *Records, etc.*, 265.

44 *Records, etc.*, 238.

45 *Ib.*, 285 ff.

that all such things were "a gracious work of God," "even though it should be attended with unusual bodily commotions or some more exceptionable circumstances." Thus in the reunited church, as in other American churches, the evangelical principles of the great revival triumphed.

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia was the main body of American Presbyterianism for the rest of colonial history. In 1788 it became the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. This colonial church, considering its history of division, would not be expected to be perfectly united. Differences remained, and for the sake of peace the Old Side group was allowed to put its own interpretation on some of the articles of the union. Yet it was a church that worked unitedly. It grew rapidly from the reunion to be by far the strongest church in the middle colonies and to stand beside New England Congregationalism as the two strongest American churches. At 1775 the Synod had one hundred and thirty-two ministers, in eleven presbyteries, having grown in seventeen years from one hundred.⁴⁶ One of these presbyteries was that of Dutchess County in New York, and the Synod had an outpost on the New York frontier at Cherry Valley. Of this church almost three quarters came in 1758 from the Synod of New York. Charles Hodge in 1851 named seventeen ministers of the time of the reunion who he says "were some of the most distinguished men who have ever adorned our annals;"⁴⁷ thirteen of the seventeen were of the Synod of New York. The reunited colonial church bore the character thus derived from this Synod, and showed what the Great Awakening did for American churches. It was evangelistic, building itself up at home and reaching out along the western and southern frontiers. It enlarged its missions to Indians, and with New England Congregationalists formed a plan for a mission to Africa, which the War of Independence defeated. It undertook distribution of Bibles and religious books. It was liberal and catholic in its relations with other churches. For eight years before the war the Synod and the Congregational churches of Connecticut united in an annual convention to concert resistance to the erection of an Anglican episcopate in the colonies, which was opposed as threatening an established church; and thereby fostered the spirit of independence. The Synod furthered education, strengthening the College of New

46 C. A. Briggs, *op. cit.*, 315, 342.

47 C. Hodge, *op. cit.*, Part II, 282.

Jersey by the support of a professor of divinity, and creating other colleges, Hampden-Sydney and Washington in Virginia and Jefferson in western Pennsylvania. It was this church that after the War of Independence was ready to serve the new nation in the spirit of its history.

We who inherit from the first Synod of New York have a right to say that to this Synod was due a large measure of the breadth and strength and zeal of our ancestral colonial church and our early national church. This ought to inspire us not to bragging about our inheritance but to being of the same spirit, and in particular to being supporters of evangelical liberty, evangelism, missions, Christian education.

LUTHER AND THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS

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Modern psychoanalysis tells us that disease is the touchstone of the healthy mind. What is true in the realm of psychology is not less true in the realm of ethics. The most terrible disease in the realm of human relations is war and so we can say that war is the touchstone of a healthy ethical system. In its attitude toward war the weakness of an ethical system is revealed. In the war situation an ethical system is revealed as basically unrealistic if it proves unwilling to face the actual situation and therefore uses the escape of absolute pacifism. It is revealed as basically immoral if it condones any war to such an extent that it loses sight of sin and injustice and makes of that war a holy war or a crusade.

Because the attitude toward war growing out of an ethical system has peculiar significance, it is of considerable value to study Luther's attitude toward the war against the Turks. His attitude as expressed here will throw some light upon his theological presuppositions and will serve to illustrate his ethical system.

However, little has been written in regard to Luther's position in the war against the Turks. There are few studies of the subject and not one in English.¹ Yet the war against the Turks formed the colorful background of the Reformation.

In the early years of the Reformation, the Turkish danger had constantly increased. Large parts of southeastern Europe were under Turkish rule. After the sudden death of Selim I in 1520, Suleiman II became his successor. Some had hoped that he would rest on the laurels of his predecessor, but such hopes failed to materialize. On the contrary, while Selim I had fought his major battles against Egypt in Africa, Suleiman had his hands free to attack Hungary, the southeastern bulwark of Christendom. In 1521 he captured Belgrade, and in the battle of Mohacz of 1526 he routed the Hungarian army. King Louis

1 During the recent war a German, Helmut Lamparter, has examined Luther's position in the war against the Turks. He is especially interested to prove Luther's absolute disavowal of military crusades. Cf. H. Lamparter, *Luthers Stellung zum Türkenkrieg* (München, 1940).

II was killed and all Europe lay open to the victorious armies of the Moslems.

Ferdinand of Austria suddenly realized that his country was the next objective of the advancing enemy. He tried to appease the Sultan with diplomacy. Sending ambassadors to the Turks, he offered peace and a "good neighbor policy." But the ambassadors returned with the disquieting message that Suleiman expected to discuss the matter personally with the Archduke of Austria—and in Vienna.

Small wonder that not only Austria, but Christian Europe in general, were terror-stricken. It was at that time that Luther published his first major statement in regard to the Turkish danger. It appeared in 1529 under the title *On War against the Turk*, and was written to counteract the prevalent opinion that Luther considered the war against the Turks a war against God. This impression of Luther's position had been fostered by the notorious papal bull, *Exsurge Domine*, in which Pope Leo X had condemned Luther's theses as heretical. In his fifth thesis Luther had said that the pope cannot remit any other punishments than those which he or canon law had imposed.² He had claimed that the pope cannot remit God's punishments. And in his defense of the ninety-five theses of 1518 he had tried to make his point even more emphatic and had added that if the pope was as well able to remit divine punishment as he claimed, he should stop the advance of the Turk. Luther said that he must indeed be a poor Christian who does not know that the Turks are a punishment from God, and invited the pope to stop that punishment.³

The pope had countered by condemning as heretical the following sentence of Luther: "To fight against the Turks is to fight against God's visitation upon our iniquities."⁴ In this

2 *Luthers Werke*, Weimar ed., I, 233, 18: "5 Papa non vult nec potest ullas penas remittere eas, quas arbitrio vel suo vel canonum imposuit." All quotations from Luther's works are from the Weimar edition.

3 *Luthers Werke*, I, 535, 30: "Alioqui si sacerdos ecclesiae sive summus sive infimus potest hanc poenam potestate clavium solvere: pellat ergo pestes, bella, seditiones, terremotus, incendis, caedes, latrocinia, item Turcas et Tartaros aliosque infideles, quos esse flagella et virgam dei nemo nisi parum christianus ignorat. Dicit enim Isa. X Ve Assur! virga furoris mei et baculus ipse est. In manu eius indignatio mea. Licet plurimi nunc et eidem magni in ecclesia nihil aliud somnient quam bella adversus Turcam, scilicet non contra iniquitates, sed contra virgam iniquitatis bellaturi deoque repugnaturi, qui per eam virgam sese visitare dicit iniquitates nostras, eo quod nos non visitamus eas."

4 *Bulla Exsurge Domine*, June 15, 1520: "Proeliari adversus Turcas est repugnare Deo visitanti iniquitates nostras."

misleading form, Luther's attitude toward the war against the Turks had been widely publicised. This had given the general impression that Luther considered a war against the Turks sinful and preferred the rule of the Turks to the rule of the emperor.

Luther had to answer this accusation. He did that in a detailed reassertion of all the articles condemned by Leo X.⁵ In regard to the Turks he said that unless the pope were put in his place, all attempts to defeat the Turks would prove futile. The wrath of the Lord would continue to be upon all Christendom as long as Christian nations continued to honor those most Turkish of all Turks, even the Romanists.⁶

But this answer merely showed that Luther's pronouncements in regard to the Turks were not a defense of the Turks but an attack against the pope. It had not clarified his own attitude toward the increasing Turkish danger. Luther did not want the pope to lead Christendom in a war against the Sultan, but did that mean that he felt that such a war in itself should not be waged? Such an attitude was not uncommon.⁷ Was it also Luther's attitude?

Realizing the importance of Luther's position in this matter, friends had urged him for years to write somewhat extensively on the subject. Finally, in January of 1529, he published the above-mentioned book *On War against the Turk*.⁸ It could not have appeared at a more opportune moment. On October 9, 1528, Luther had written the introduction to the book and dedicated it to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. Here he wrote the almost prophetic words: "And now that the Turk is actually approaching." It was not half a year later, in May, 1529, that Suleiman actually left Constantinople. In the autumn of the same year the Turkish army reached the outskirts of Vienna and encircled the city. It seemed that Vienna was doomed. Luther heard of the siege of Vienna on his way home

5 *Luthers Werke*, VII, 94 ff: Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per Bullam Leonis X novissimam damnatorum.

6 *Ibid.*, VII, 141, 24: "Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat et Bello Turcico abstineat, donec Papae nomen sub caelo valet."

Also VII, 141, 7: "Et in iis omnibus non est aversus furor domini, nec dum intelligimus manum dei, percutientis nos in corpore et anima per hos Romanos Turcissimos Turcas."

7 *Ibid.*, Briefe, V, 175, 7; No. 1492. Luther to Probst: "Germania plena est proditoribus, qui Turcas favent."

8 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 107. Vom Kriege widder die Türecen; cf. "On War against the Turk," Philadelphia edition, V.

from the Marburg Colloquy. It was in Marburg that his attention had been called by Myconius to certain sayings of a Franciscan monk. This man, Johannes Hilten, had predicted the Turkish danger on the basis of certain prophecies in the book of Daniel.⁹ Luther was impressed and worried. He now began to believe that the book of Daniel might throw some light on the contemporary trials of Christendom. It was under the impact of this information and of the siege of Vienna that he decided to write another book dealing with the Turkish danger. Before this plan could be executed, Luther heard with relief that Suleiman and his army had retreated from Vienna. Yet he felt that the repetition of a Moslem advance had to be avoided. In order to do his part in calling the attention of all people to the Turkish danger, he wrote his *Call to War against the Turk*.¹⁰ Basing his position upon an investigation of Daniel 7, Luther tried to explain to his German countrymen the Turkish danger in all its seriousness.

But Luther's writings of the year 1529 were not his only writings that dealt with the Turkish danger. Many years later, in 1541, when the Turks were again threatening the Empire, the Elector of Saxony asked Luther to write to all the ministers in his domain to exhort them and their people to constant prayer because of the imminent danger threatening from the Turks. Luther did that in his *Exhortation to Prayer against the Turk*.¹¹

Besides these three major works, there are numerous references to the war against the Turks all through Luther's writings. He was so concerned with the Turkish problem that in 1530 he wrote a preface to a little book by a Dominican monk who had spent more than twenty years in a Turkish prison. This book dealt with the religion and customs of the Moslems and was Luther's main source of information on the subject.¹²

All these writings of Luther indicate quite clearly his grave concern with the danger that threatened Christianity from the Moslem world. More than most of his contemporaries, Luther realized what was involved in war or in pacifistic non-resistance against the Turks.

This is the more remarkable in the light of the actual historical situation. Instead of fearing the Turks, Luther had every reason to be grateful to them. It was the constant danger of a

⁹ *Ibid.*, Briefe V, V, 191; No. 1501. Friedrich Myconius to Luther.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 160. Eine Heerpredigt widder den Türcken.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, LI, 577 ff. Vermahnung zum Gebet widder den Türeken.

¹² *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 205. Vorwort zu dem Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum.

Turkish invasion that had kept the Emperor from taking severe measures against Luther's reformation. The Empire needed the help of the Evangelical princes in the war against the Turks and therefore had to postpone its plans to destroy Luther. From the point of view of realistic power politics, the safety of the Reformation depended upon the strength of the Turkish armies. From many points of view the Sultan and Luther might have been political allies.

That Luther was aware of this fact is best illustrated by a little episode reported in the *Table Talk*. At one time Luther was informed by a member of an imperial mission to the Turkish Sultan that Suleiman had been very much interested in Luther and his movement and had asked the ambassadors Luther's age. When they had told him that Luther was forty-eight years old, he had said, "I wish he were even younger; he would find in me a gracious protector." But hearing that report, Luther, not being a realistic politician, made the sign of the cross and said, "May God protect me from such a gracious protector."¹³

Although by all rules of strategy and power politics Luther and the Turks should have been allies, Luther urged war against the Turks. What was the reason?

I. THE DANGER

Luther's position concerning the Turks was determined by study of the Bible. It was Luther's intention to instruct the consciences of Christians on the basis of a study of Scripture. He wanted them to learn "what we must know about the Turk and who he is according to Scripture."¹⁴ According to Scripture, the Turks were dangerous. Luther's attitude was not based upon political speculation in regard to a balance of powers. It was not based upon his desire to preserve a so-called Christian civilization. He thought very little of the Christian civilization of his time. Luther's position in regard to the Turks was the result of a thorough study of Scripture and especially of those passages that seemed to point to the Turkish danger. Before

13 *Ibid.*, T. II, 508, 17: "Egregius quidam vir nomine Schmaltz Hagonensis civis, qui fuit in legatione ad Turcam, Luthero retulit Turcarum regem ipsum interrogasse de Martino Luthero, et quot annorum esset; qui cum eum annorum 48 aetatis esse dixisset, respondisse fertur: Ich wolt, das er noch junger were, dan er solt einen gnedigen herrn an mir wissen. Respondit Martinus Lutherus facto crucis signo: Behut mich Gott vor diesem gnedigen herrn."

14 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 161, 31: "Das gewissen zu unterrichten dienet wol zursachen, das man gewis sey, was der Türeke sey und wofür er zurhalten sey nach der schrift."

Luther spoke about the Turks, he had first obediently listened to the Word of God.

What was the message of Scripture in regard to the Turks? First of all, they were the rod of punishment that God was sending. In his explanation and defense of the ninety-five theses, Luther had called the Turk the rod of punishment of the wrath of God. He had said that by means of the Turks God punishes Christendom for its contempt of the Gospel. Pope Leo and his courtiers had tried to use this statement to imply that Luther lacked patriotism and claimed divine sanction for the Turkish sword. In spite of this misrepresentation, Luther repeated in 1529 what he had said before: "Because Germany is so full of evil and blasphemy, nothing else can be expected. We must suffer punishment if we do not repent and stop the persecution of the Gospel."¹⁵ And he reiterated later that as long as the Christian world refuses to repent, it will not be successful in its wars, for the Lord fights against it.¹⁶ Here Luther stood courageously in the prophetic tradition. With the prophets, he realized that God can and does use heathen nations in order to punish the so-called Christian nations for their unfaithfulness.

But Luther looked at the Turks from still another point of view. For him they were not only the rod of punishment of the wrath of God, but also the servants and saints of the devil.¹⁷ What did he mean by that? This combination of the rod of punishment of the wrath of God with the servants and saints of the devil throws some light upon Luther's peculiar conception of the devil. For Luther the devil was always God's devil, i. e., in his attempt to counteract God he ultimately serves God. The

15 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 180, 19: "Denn ich hab droben gesagt, weil Deudsch land so vol bosheit und lesterung ist, das zu hoch uber macht ist und yn hymel schreyet, kans nicht anders werden, wo wir uns nicht bessern und ablassen von verfolgung und lesterung des Euangelij, wir müssen herhalten und eine staupe leiden."

16 *Ibid.*, XLVI, 609, 2; cf. W. A. LI, 594, 29: "Wollen wir uns nu lassen helfen und raten, So lasst uns Busse thun und die bösen Stück so droben erzelet bessern. Werden wir aber solehes nicht thun, und wollen uns nicht lassen raten, so ist uns auch nicht zu helfen. Und wird vergeblich sein das wir viel schreien, der Türcke sey ein grausamer Tyran. Denn es hilfft nichts, das ein böse Kind schreiet uber die scharffe Ruten, Wo es fromm were, so were die Ruten nicht scharff, ja sie were kein Rute."

17 For this division cf. H. Lamparter, *Luthers Stellung zum Türkenkrieg; Luthers Werke*, LI, 617: "Denn der Türcken heer ist eigentlich der Teuffel heer." *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 187: "Unter andern ergenissen bey den Türcken ist wol das fürnemste das yre priester odder geistlichen solch ein ernst, dapfer, strenge leben führen, das man sie möcht für Engel und nicht für menschen ansehen, das mit allen unsern geistlichen und mōnchen ym Bapsttum ein schertz ist gegen sie."

Turks were the servants and saints of this devil. Why did Luther call them saints?

Luther had read a number of books concerning Mohammedanism, and he was aware of the fact that in many respects the Mohammedans lived a morally upright life. Luther thought that compared with the sincerity of Moslem life and Moslem asceticism, the Roman asceticism seemed ridiculous. And in this context he reminded his readers that "the devil also can make a sour face and fast and perform false miracles and present his servants with mystical raptures."¹⁸ Such practices and experiences are the common property of all religions; they do not demonstrate a religion as true. Even the devil's own religion can be accompanied by such experiences and practices. In this sense the Turks are the saints and servants of the devil; their religious exercises do not disprove it but rather prove it. Luther wanted all soldiers who had to fight the Turks to know their peculiar relationship to the powers of evil. He said, "If you go to war against the Turks you can be sure that you are not fighting flesh and blood, i. e., against men, for the army of the Turks is actually the army of the devil."¹⁹

The Turk's peculiar relationship to the realm of the devil explained for Luther the renewed vigor of the Moslem armies at the time of the Reformation. He felt that the devil was worried that the rediscovery of the Gospel might endanger his empire and therefore made these powerful attempts to conquer all Europe.

As saints of the devil the Turks were also destroyers of Christian faith and morals. The worth of their religion could not be measured by their religious exercises or their more or less moral legislation. Luther knew only one criterion by which all religion, and therefore also Mohammedanism, had to be judged. His all-important criterion for the truth of religion was its attitude toward Jesus Christ as the Son of God.²⁰ He applied this criterion to Mohammedanism and found it wanting.

Luther realized that measured by a purely moralistic standard the religion of the Turks would come out fairly well. However, he considered such a criterion invalid. Only the faith

18 *Luthers Werke*, XXX, 2, 187, 10

19 *Ibid.*, LI, 617, 26.

20 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 186, 15: "Und durch diesen artickel wird unser glaube gesondert von allen andern glauben auff erden, Denn die Jüden haben das nicht, die Türeken und Sarraacener auch nicht, dazu kein Papist noch falscher Christ noch kein ander ungleubiger, sondern allein die rechten Christen."

expressed in the second article of the Apostles' Creed is a valid standard for the truth of religion. Luther had declared in the Smalcald articles, "From this article one cannot depart or give in, even if heaven and earth should fall. . . And upon this article rests everything that we teach and live against pope, devil and the world. Therefore we must be absolutely certain and never doubt, otherwise everything is lost and pope and devil and all our other enemies will be victorious."²¹ Now he claimed against the Turkish religion, "Everything depends upon this second article; because of it we are called Christians and through the Gospel we have been called to it and baptized upon it and have been counted as Christians. And through it we receive the Holy Spirit and forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the dead, and eternal life. For this article makes us children of God and brothers of Christ, so that we may become eternally like him and be his co-heirs."²² The second article of the Apostles' Creed judges all religion. It is the only valid criterion for Christians. It must be considered in judging the religion of the Turks and is far more important than any possible religious habits and experiences associated with Turkish religion. From this position, Luther came to the conclusion that the Koran is a "foul book of blasphemy," "merely human reason, and without the Word of God and His Spirit."²³ Its teachings are collected together from Jewish, Christian, and heathen beliefs.²⁴ And since Mohammed denies that Christ is the Son of God and the Saviour of the world, he must be considered an enemy and destroyer of the Lord Jesus and His Kingdom. "For he who denies these parts of the Christian faith, namely that Christ is the Son of God and that He died for us and lives now and rules at the right hand of the Father, what has he to do with Christ? Then Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Baptism, Sacrament, Gospel, Faith, and Christian doctrine and life are destroyed."²⁵ Because of his denial of the divinity of Jesus Christ, the Turk is the destroyer and enemy of the Christian faith.

21 *Ibid.*, L, 199, 22.

22 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 186, 8.

23 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 121, 30: "Ich habe des Mahomets Alkoran etlich stück, welehs auff deudsch moech predigt—oder lerebuch heissen, wie des Bapsts Decretal heist. Hab ich zeit so mus ichs ia verdeutschen, auf das yderman sehe welch ein faul schendlich buch es ist." Also XXX, 2, 168, 15: . . . das ist des Mahomeths Alkoran odder gesetz damit er regirt, In welchem gesetz ist kein göttlich auge, sondern eitel menschliche vernunft on Gottes word und geist."

24 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 122, 29: "Also ists ein glaube zu samen geflickt aus der Juden Christen und Heiden glauben."

25 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 122, 16.

But the Turks are also destroyers of Christian morals. In spite of all their ascetic rules and religious practices Luther considered them murderers²⁶ and whoremongers.²⁷ The Turk does not fight wars from necessity or to protect his land. Like a highwayman, he seeks to rob and damage other lands whose people are doing and have done nothing to him. This he does because according to his religion it is a good work to attack and murder "unbelievers." Held in highest esteem are those Turks who are most diligent in increasing the Turkish kingdom through murder and robbery.

Furthermore, the Turk is the enemy of the institution of marriage. Luther knew that it was customary among the Turks for a man to have any number of wives. He had heard that Moslems bought and sold women like cattle. This made the Turks whoremongers and was contrary to all true Christian morality.

Luther saw in the Turks the punishment of God and the servants and saints of the devil. He discerned their odd combination of purity and depravity. He found them possessed by a spirit of lies and of murder. All this could lead Luther to only one conclusion: the Turk is the Antichrist.

Luther's identification of the Turk with the Antichrist sounds confusing in view of his frequent claims that it is the pope in Rome who is the real Antichrist. But for Luther two Antichrists presented no problem. He said, "The person of the Antichrist is at the same time the pope and the Turk. Every person consists of a body and a soul. So the spirit of the Antichrist is the pope, his flesh is the Turk. The one has infested the Church spiritually, the other bodily. However, both come from the same Lord, even the devil."²⁸ This conclusion determined Luther's recommendations for the defense against this enemy.

26 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 126, 10: "Weil denn nu des Mahometh Alkoran so ein mancherfeltiger lügen geist ist, das er schier nichts lest bleiben der Christlichen wahrheit: wie sollt es anders folgen und ergehen, denn das er auch ein grosser mechtiger mörder würde und alles beides unter dem schein der warheit und gerechtigkeit?"

27 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 126, 21: "Das dritte stücke ist, das des Mahomeths Alkoran den Ehestand nicht acht, sondern yderman zu gibt weiber zu nemen wie viel er wil. Daher der brauch ist bey den Türcken das ein man zehen, zwentzig weiber hat Und widerumb verlest und verkeufft welche er wil, das die weiber aus der massen unwerd und veraecht ynn der Türkey sind, werden gekaufft und verkaufft wie das viehe."

28 *Ibid.*, T. III, 158, 31.

II. THE DEFENSE

It is not sufficient to state that Luther saw the danger that threatened Europe because of the advance of the Turks. He also realized that he had to suggest means for the defense of Christendom against the approaching danger. It would not have been very helpful if Luther had been satisfied merely to point out the evil confronting Christendom without adding suggestions for its removal. What could be done in the face of such a great peril? What was the duty of the Christian man in regard to the Turkish danger?

As usual, Luther separated the duties of a man as a Christian from the duties of a man as a citizen. He felt that as Christians all people were called to repentance and prayer. Luther was aware of the guilt of the co-called Christian nations. He knew also that sin and guilt were not limited to the German territories under the rule of Rome and of Roman Catholic princes. They were guilty of grave sins, for they had persecuted the Word of God openly.²⁹ But the Evangelicals also had lacked the necessary respect for the Word of God. Often they had used it to serve their own lusts and desires.³⁰ Therefore, both Romans and Evangelicals had deserved the punishment of God.

In his *Call to Prayer Against the Turk*, Luther went into detail enumerating the manifold sins and transgressions of the

29 *Ibid.*, LI, 585, 13: "Man spricht, Wem nicht zu raten ist, dem ist nicht zu helfen. Wir Deutschen haben nu vil jar her das liebe wort Gottes gehort Da durch uns Gott der Vater alle barmhertzigkeit erleuchtet und von den grewlichen greweln der Bepstlichen finstenis und Abgötterey geruffen in sein heiliges liecht und Reich. Aber wie danckbarlich und ehrlich wir das haben angenommen und gehalten ist schrecklich gnug zu sehen noch heutigen tages. Denn gerade als weren der vorigen Sünde zu wenig da wir Gott mit Messen, Fegfeuer, Heiligendienst und andere mehr eigen Werken und gerechtigkeit auff's höchst (wie wol unwissend) erzürnet und alle winkel mit solchen grossen Abgöttereien erfüllet haben, und gemeinet, Gott darin sonderlich zu dienen, So faren wir darüber zu und verfolgen das liebe wort, so uns zur Busse von solchen greweln berufft, und verteidigen wissentlich und mutwilliglich solche Abgötterey mit Fewr, Wasser, Strick, Schwert, Fluchen und lestern, das nicht wunder were, ob Gott nicht allein Türken, sondern eitel Teuffel uber Deutschland liesse oder lengst hette lassen schwemmen."

30 *Ibid.*, LI, 586, 29: "Über das auff diesem teil wir, so das Evangelion angenommen und sich des worts rhümen, erfüllen auch den spruch Rom. 4: 'Gottes Namen wird durch euch unter den Heiden gelestert'. Denn ausgenommen gar wenig, die es mit ernst meinen und dankbarlich annemen, So ist der andere hauffe so undanckbar, so mutwillig, so frech, und leben nicht anders, denn als hette Gott sein Wort darumb uns gegeben, und vom Bapstum sampt seinem Teuffelischen gefengnis erlöset, das wir möchten frey thun und lassen, was uns geluestet, Und also sein Wort nicht zu seinen ehren und unser seligkeit, sondern zu unserm mutwillen dienen müsste, So es doch seines lieben Sons Jhesu Christi unsers Herrn und Heilands, blut und tod gekostet hat, das uns solehs so reichlich gepredigt würde."

so-called Christian nations. It was because of this general depravity that one should not be surprised that God had sent the Turks to punish Germany. Luther felt that Germany received her deserts. In order, therefore, to assure a successful defense against the Turk it was necessary for all to repent and to acknowledge their transgressions. Luther said, "This struggle has to be started with repentance and we have to change our very being, otherwise we shall fight in vain."³¹ And later: "If we want to receive help and counsel, we must first of all repent and change all the evil practices which I mentioned above. Princes and lords must preserve law and do justice, bring an end to money-lending, and stop the greed of noblemen, burghers and peasants—but most of all honor the Word of God, and care for the schools and churches and their ministers and teachers."³²

Luther felt that the people needed to learn that only through faithful prayer could the Turkish danger be banished. He said, "Pray ye, because our hope rests not in weapons but in God. If anyone is able to defeat the Turk, it will be the poor little children praying the Lord's Prayer."³³

But just as repentance and prayer are the tasks of all men as Christians, so these same Christian men have an additional task as citizens. And here again Luther presented the task of the Christian from two different aspects.³⁴ The Christian as ruler has the duty to resist the Turks.

After the amazing victories of the Turkish armies, many voices could be heard all over Germany proclaiming that the time for fighting the enemy had passed and that the time for appeasing him had come. What's the difference, they said, Germany is doomed, Mohammedanism is the wave of the future. Resistance is hopeless. Many people were resigned to become subjects of the Sultan. Some even hoped for an improvement of their position once the Turks should take over. Against these appeasers Luther said, "We must not despair. For just as God does not want us to be blown up in our conceited self-confidence, He does not want us to give up in despair."³⁵ Luther made

³¹ *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 117, 21.

³² *Ibid.*, LI, 594, 12.

³³ *Ibid.*, T. V, 127, 1.

³⁴ cf. Lamparter, *Luthers Stellung zum Türkenkrieg*, 68 ff.

³⁵ *Luthers Werke*, LI, 593, 20: "Hie sprichstu: Was sollen wir denn thun? Sollen wir verzweiveln, hende und füsse gehen lassen, und dem Türeken alles einreumen on allen widerstand und gegenwehre? Nein, bey leibe, Des habe ich keinen befelh zu raten, Sonerlich nicht, das man verzagen oder verzweivelen solle, denn gleich wie Gott nicht kan leiden den frechen frevel und mutwillen, davon ich droben gesagt, Also wil er auch nicht, das man verzagen oder verzweiveln solle."

it quite plain that it would show utter irresponsibility if the Emperor and the princes should give in to the Turk without a fight. It is the task of the princes and rulers to protect their citizens against all enemies. That is the reason that God has given them power. If they fail in their task, they sin against God.³⁶

But the duty to fight the Turks in defense of Germany and Europe does not mean that the war against the Turk is a crusade or a holy war. Luther knew the desires of the papacy to promote crusades. But he considered the very idea of a crusade utter blasphemy. The champions of crusades always implied that they were defending Christ against the devil. The spirit of the crusade was therefore a spirit of pride. Luther considered such a spirit contrary to Christ's spirit of humility and love. The war against the Turks could never be called a crusade of Christians against the enemies of Christ. Luther said: "Such a view is opposed to Christ's teaching and name. It is against His teachings since He said that Christians should not resist evil, should not quarrel and fight and should never seek revenge. It is against His name since in such an army there are hardly five real Christians and perhaps many people worse in the sight of God than the Turks. Yet they all want to go by the name of Christians. This is the worst of all sins, a sin that no Turk commits. For here Christ's name is used for sin and unrighteousness."³⁷

Luther ridiculed the idea that the Emperor had to fight a war against the Turks as a protector of the Christian faith and the Christian Church. Only stupid pride and conceit could possibly produce such an idea. Luther said quite plainly, "The Emperor is not the head of Christendom or the defender of the Gospel and of faith. The Christian Church and the Christian Faith need a far different protector than an emperor or a king. These men are generally the worst enemies of Christianity and of faith."³⁸

Indeed, Luther said, we would be in a serious predicament if the Christian Church had no other protector than some worldly prince. No prince is sure of his own life for the space

36 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 129, 17: "Der ander man so widder den Tureken zu streiten gebürt, ist Keyser Karol (odder wer der Keyser ist). Denn der Tureke greift seine unterthanen und sein Keysertum an, welcher schuldig ist die seinen zu verteidigen als eine ordentliche Obrigkeit von Gott gesetzt."

37 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 111, 13.

38 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 130, 27.

of even one hour. Therefore, Luther considered the idea of a human defender of the faith an utterly stupid perversion of the truth. He said, "Here you can see how a poor mortal, a future victim of worms, like the Emperor, who is not sure of his life for even one moment, glorifies himself as the true protector of the Christian faith. Scripture says that Christian faith is a rock, too solid to be overthrown by the might of the devil, by death and all powers, that this faith is a divine power (Rom. 1:16). Such a power should be protected by a child of death who can be put to death by any kind of disease? Help us God, the world is crazy . . . Well, soon we shall have a king or prince who will protect Christ and then somebody else will protect the Holy Ghost, and then of course the Holy Trinity and Christ and Faith will be in a fine shape!"³⁹

It is not the task of the princes and of the Emperor to play the defender of the Holy Trinity and of the Christian faith, but it is their task to see to it that their subjects are safe from attack. The Emperor is not the protector of the Church and of the faith, but he is the protector of Germany and of its freedom. Let him be satisfied with that and do his duty.

Now what of the duty of the subjects in the war against the Turks?⁴⁰ First of all as citizens, they owe obedience to their rulers. They must help the ruler in his task of preserving law and order. Luther had explained before his position in regard to the powers that be. He had spoken of the duty of the citizen as soldier and assured his followers that the professional soldier could also be saved. But now he warned even the subject against participation in a crusade. He said, "If I were a soldier and should see as the flag of my army the colors of a cleric or a cross, even if it were a crucifix, I would run away as if the very devil himself were after me."⁴¹ Luther felt that what was true for the rulers was no less true for the ruled. Crusades were not only useless but actually blasphemous. No Christian could possibly participate in a crusade. And in this connection, Luther added that no one who serves as a soldier under an emperor or prince should ever let himself be used in a war against the Gospel, fought under the guise of a crusade but actually persecuting Christians. There is a limit to the obedience which the subject owes to the established order.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, XV, 278, 1.

⁴⁰ cf. Lamparter, *Luthers Stellung zum Türkenkrieg*, 97 ff.

⁴¹ *Luthers Werke*, XXX, 2, 115, 1.

However, the soldier who fights for law and order and is a Christian can rest assured of his salvation.⁴² The fact that he is a soldier does not exclude him from Christ, as some of the Enthusiasts had held. For this soldier does not fight for his own pleasure but in the service of the ordinances of God. If he is aware of this fact, no one can harm him. Then the fear of death is overcome. If such a soldier dies, believing in Christ, then his death on the battlefield is merely the beginning of his eternal life. And Luther considered such a death on the battlefield preferable to the slow death on the sickbed.⁴³

If war is fought in defense of law and order and of home and family, then a Christian ought to go to war unafraid. Luther said that the war against the Turks is not our business as Christians but it is very much our business as citizens. As Christian citizens, we must face all dangers without flinching, for as Christians we know, "And who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good."⁴⁴

Luther's attitude toward the war against the Turks is an integral part of his entire theology. It is especially important because of his persistent denial of the right to proclaim a war, even a religious war, or a crusade. But we cannot fully understand Luther's position on the war against the Turks unless we realize that for Luther there was also an eschatological element involved in this war.

Luther had tried to understand the Turkish danger in the light of the book of Daniel. On the basis of his exegesis of Daniel, the Turk was for him an indication of the proximity of the *parousia*. The raging of the Antichrist in Turk and

42 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 180, 7: "Denn der Türek ist ein feind und Tyrann nicht allein widder Christum, sondern auch widder den Keiser und unser überkeit. Foddert sie nu die überkeit, sollen sie ziehen und drein schmeissen wie gehorsam unterthanen. Werden sie darüber erschlagen, Wolan so sind sie nicht allein Christen, sondern auch gehorsame trewe unterthanen gewesen, die leib und gut ynn Gottes gehorsam bey yhre oberherrn zugesetzt haben. Selig und heilig sind sie ewiglich wie der fromme Urias."

43 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 175, 28: "So weistu ia wol, das du dennoch ein mal sterben must und keinen tag noch stunde des todes sicher bist. Wie wenn denn solcher streit widder den Tüerken eben dein stündlein sein solt und von Gott also verordent were? Solltestu nicht lieber, ia dazu mit freuden, dich allda Gott ergeben ynn einen solchen ehrlichen heiligen todt, da du so viel Göttlicher ursachen, gebot und befehl hast und sicher bist, das du nicht ynn deinen sunden, sondern ynn Gottes gebot und gehorsam stirbest, vielleicht ynn einem augenblick aus allem iammer kommst und gen hymel zu Christo auffleugst, denn das du auff dem bette mütest liegen und dich lange mit deinen sunden, mit dem tod und teuffel reissen, beissen, kempffen und ringen ynn aller fahr und not, und dennoch solche herrliche Gottes befehl und gebot nicht haben?"

44 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 177, 2.

pope made Luther hope that the day of the Lord was at hand. The troubles of his time represented the birthpangs of the coming kingdom. This confident hope was the reason that Luther left the ultimate defeat of Turk and pope to the day of Jesus Christ that was soon to dawn. He said, "Our self-confidence will not defeat Gog⁴⁵ . . . But thunder and lightning and the fire of hell will defeat him, as it once happened to Sanherib. That will be his judgment and his end. For this judgment Christians must work with humble prayer. . . . If they don't do it, no one else will."⁴⁶

To encourage Christians in their prayers and devotions, the Gospel had appeared again in its clarity. This Gospel and prayer were the weapons in the hands of Christian people. The end was at hand. Soon Christ would bring His judgment upon both the pope and the Turk, rid the world of the Antichrist, and save us all with His glorious future. And Luther added that for this day of Christ we wait daily.⁴⁷

Luther knew that finally Antichrist, in whatever form he might appear, would be judged. But he knew also that this judgment would be God's judgment.⁴⁸ It is our task to do what we can to hasten this day of Jesus Christ. We can do it only with repentance and prayer and a life according to His word.

This is the core of Luther's teachings about the Turks. He was concerned with the Turkish danger most of his life. The Turks played a part in his first teachings as well as in his last. But with an amazing consistency Luther never changed his basic attitude. The Turks were God's punishment of a proud and sinful Germany in 1541 as in 1517. Never did the political exigencies of the time change Luther's statements concerning these enemies.

Because Luther knew that the hope of the Christian is based solely upon the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, he concluded his booklet *On War Against the Turks* with these words: "I know that this book will not make the Turk a gracious Lord to me, if it comes before him; nevertheless, I have wished to tell my Germans the truth, so far as I know it, and give faithful counsel

45 For Luther the Turk is Gog. He developed this idea in his preface to the 38th and 39th chapter of Ezekiel. cf. *Luthers Werke*, XXX, 2, 223 ff.

46 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 226, 1.

47 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 226, 7.

48 *Ibid.*, XXX, 2, 172, 9: "Eben wenn das selb stündlin kommen wird, das er so viel noch thun will und trotzig und gyrig sein wird, Da wird Christus mit schwefel und feur uber yhn komen und fragen warumb er seine heiligen, die yhm kein leid gethan, on alle ursache so grewlich verfolget und geplaget habe."

and service to the grateful and ungrateful alike. If it helps, it helps; if it helps not, then may our dear Lord Jesus Christ help, and come down from heaven with the Last Judgment and smite both Turk and pope to the earth, together with all tyrants and all the godless, and deliver us from all sins and from all evil."⁴⁹

⁴⁹ *Works of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia), V, 123.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PURITAN CLERGY ON THE HOUSE OF COMMONS: 1625-1629

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As is well known, Puritanism, as well as social, economic, and constitutional issues, were involved in the struggle against the Crown in the reigns of the first two Stuarts. Like the other groups which comprised the opposition—the lawyers, the merchants, and the country gentry—the Puritans came to focus their attention on Parliament as the agency for the articulation of their grievances against the policy of the government. But unlike the other groups, the ties which bound the Puritans to Parliament were somewhat weak, and to a certain extent indirect. In the first place, the primary concern of the Puritans was with religious reformation, and it was only after they had been repulsed by the Crown and disowned by Convocation that they came to regard Parliament as the only avenue of protest against the conservative Anglicanism of James and the more extreme high church propensities of his son. Moreover, it was impossible for the natural leaders of the religiously disaffected—the Puritan preachers—to champion their cause in Parliament, since the lower clergy had been excluded from that assembly after the fourteenth century on the grounds that they were represented in Convocation.

As a consequence of this condition, the role which Puritanism played in the parliamentary opposition has always remained somewhat vague. Some Parliament men, of course, were firmly attached to the Puritan way of life, and these seem to have comprised small *blocs* of active and enthusiastic supporters in both houses. Beyond these adherents, the influence which Puritanism wielded in Parliament can be at least partially ascribed to the fact that there were great numbers of men, who, without actually accepting Puritanism in all its aspects, were willing to come to the defence of a movement that had become identified in the popular mind with militant Protestantism struggling against Anglo-Catholicizing tendencies. To these two groups of men, the Puritan preachers seem to have been content to consign the fortunes of their cause, but they were

nevertheless interested in maintaining close contact with them. To keep the principles and objectives of the movement constantly before Parliament, to familiarize and popularize Puritan concepts with the whole body in both houses, and to advise and exhort the Puritan members—these seem to have been the objectives of the Puritan clergy.

The opportunities which the clergy possessed for this purpose in the House of Commons during the first three Parliaments of Charles—the subject of this study—were principally four: the sermon, the petition, personal contact with members, and correspondence with members. Each had its own peculiar character and, as will be seen, the Puritan ministers were adept at employing that particular method which best conformed with their objective at any particular moment. In any study of Puritan propaganda methods, it is worth keeping in mind that the tract, a fifth means by which the Puritan preachers strove to further the movement, must have exerted a powerful influence on Parliament men, just as it did on the nation at large. That this weapon does not come under consideration here is due to the manifest impossibility of determining how deeply such literature penetrated to the Commons' ranks.

Undoubtedly, the most characteristic of Puritan mediums was the sermon. In the hands of the Puritan, this type of address had become a plain yet highly effective exhortation to the performance of the Puritan version of Christian duty. The most valuable opportunity for the exercise of this rhetoric on the Commons members was afforded by the general fast which Parliament and the city of London customarily kept during the early weeks of every session. First proposed in the Commons of 1581 by Paul Wentworth, the brother of the notoriously outspoken Puritan, Peter, the resolution for the fast was passed only to be immediately denounced by the watchful Queen.¹ Another more successful effort was made in the last Parliament of James,² and the custom seems to have been definitely launched by the first Parliament of Charles.³ A mark of the legislature's growing self-consciousness and sense of responsibility as well

1 Great Britain, *The Journal of the House of Commons* (hereafter cited as *Commons Journal*), I, 118-119.

2 *Ibid.*, 671, 715-716, 675, 722.

3 *Ibid.*, 799; Samuel Rawson Gardiner (ed.), *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625* ("Publications of the Camden Society," New Series, [Westminster, 1873]) VI, 6.

as of its religious leanings, the fast day rapidly became a Puritan holiday of vast propaganda potentialities when the city churches would resound to the cry for humiliation before God and the call for reformation to regain the divine favor. For some time the House had taken communion at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in order to avoid the "copes and wafer-cakes" of the abbey,⁴ and in 1625 the members determined to keep the fast in the same church, presumably for the same reason.⁵ Throughout the day's services, sometimes nine hours in length,⁶ the Commons listened to the sermons of the two and sometimes three eminent preachers whom they had invited for the occasion.

During the years 1625-1629, the preachers whom the House invited to address them were predominantly of the Puritan stamp. In the first Parliament of Charles, the service was performed by a trio of celebrated London ministers, Josias Shute, Richard Holdsworth, and John Preston.⁷ Shute, the rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, was widely known for his erudite sermons, but in spite of his later nomination to the Westminster Assembly, does not seem to have had any close connection with the Puritan movement. Holdsworth, on the other hand, was the young rector of St. Peter-le-Poer and was just starting on a distinguished career in moderate Puritanism which was to lead him in 1637 to the mastership of Emmanuel College, the Puritan stronghold at Cambridge. Though both Shute and Holdsworth were able and respected ministers, neither was the equal of Preston. Lecturer at Trinity Church, Cambridge, master of Emmanuel, Cambridge, and preacher to the lawyers at Lincoln's Inn, Preston was undoubtedly the most influential of the Puritan preacher-politicians.

The Parliament of 1626 was dissolved before the fast was held, but in the two sessions of the Parliament of 1628-1629, the fast day preachers were again largely of the Puritan party. At the opening of Parliament in March, Jeremiah Dyke, the rather obscure but nevertheless staunch Puritan pastor at

⁴ *Commons Journal*, I, 463; Norman Egbert McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 525.

⁵ *Commons Journal*, I, 799; Gardiner, *Debates*, 6.

⁶ George Roberts (ed.), *Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq. Justice of the Peace, and M. P. for Honiton, written at Colyton and Axminster, Co. Devon, from 1604 to 1628* ("Publications of the Camden Society," [London, 1848]) XLI, 85-86.

⁷ *Commons Journal*, I, 799, 800; Gardiner, *Debates*, 6, 29. That Holdsworth preached is a little uncertain since the *Journal* reads "Oldsworth," but in 1640 a similar spelling undoubtedly meant Holdsworth.

Epping in Essex, was asked to preach together with Walter Balcanquhall, the Dean of Rochester and certainly no Puritan.⁸ These two ministers may have indeed addressed the Commons, but since in a later passage in the *Commons Journal* the customary remuneration was directed to Dyke and "Dr. Burgesse,"⁹ there is some reason to think that the latter was substituted for Balcanquhall without a notice to that effect being entered in the *Journal*. This preacher would seem to be Cornelius Burgess, who, though he had not yet acquired much stature in 1628, was later to be described by Clarendon as sharing with Stephen Marshall the distinction of possessing more power with the Parliament of 1641 than Archbishop Laud ever had at court.¹⁰ Apparently dissatisfied with making this fast suffice for the whole Parliament, the Commons in January, 1629, made preparations for a fast in the second session. The services for this session—the last before the revolutionary parliaments of 1640—were administered by a trio of lesser importance, though again Puritans were in the majority. One of the preachers, William Fitz-Jeffery of Cornwall, is difficult to identify, although it may well be that he was connected with a number of Cornish clergymen of the same name.¹¹ The other two, however, were almost certainly of Puritan persuasion, the first being Harris, the lecturer of St. Margaret's Westminster, and the second another Harris, Robert, the rector of Hanwell, Oxford, and an unwavering parliamentarian throughout the Civil Wars.¹²

Out of all eight sermons delivered to the house between 1625 and 1629, only two seem to have been published: those of Preston in 1625 and of Dyke in 1628. Nevertheless, these addresses, together with what we know of fast day sermons after the period under consideration, provide considerable ev-

⁸ *Commons Journal*, I, 875, 878.

⁹ *Commons Journal*, I, 883.

¹⁰ Edward [Hyde], Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, to which is now added an Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland* (Oxford, 1826), II, 25.

¹¹ During the ejections of the period 1640-1660, John Fitzgeffery, a cleric of Anglican sympathies, was removed from the living of St. Dominick's parish, Cornwall (Mary Coate, *Cornwall in the great Civil War and Interregnum 1642-1660* [Oxford, 1933], 383). An Alexander Fitzgeoffrey displayed Puritanical inclinations during the reign of Elizabeth (A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall* [London, 1941], 355). It is interesting to note, moreover, that the minister-poet, Charles Fitzgeffrey, was Cornish.

¹² *Commons Journal*, I, 927; Wallace Notestein and Frances Helen Relf (eds.), *Commons Debates for 1629 critically edited and an Introduction dealing with Parliamentary Sources for the early Stuarts* (Minneapolis, 1921), 42, 129, 83.

idence of the effect they were calculated to produce.

Strangely alike throughout, both sermons took as their theme the imminence of divine wrath against England if reformation were not immediately undertaken. "As wee desire to preuent the fatall ruine of this renowned [*sic*] Church and Kingdome," declared Dyke, "so in the feare of God be wee perswaded to take warning";¹³ and Preston admonished his hearers not to be deceived by the continuation of normal existence, since though punishment might be deferred somewhat, yet God would strike at last.¹⁴ To substantiate his assertion of the peril in which England stood, Dyke enumerated the many warnings which the nation had received from God. First, the Word itself had cautioned England through Revelation¹⁵ and through the mouths of the ministers who by "comparing things present, with things past, and looking into Gods ancient wayes may see in the general that mischief is comming, and so from God giue warning."¹⁶ Another premonition was to be found in the distresses of Bohemia, the Palatinate, and Denmark, and in a curiously prophetic passage, Dyke asserted that God had given the sword a commission to go throughout the lands and that England could not long escape its blow.¹⁷ Perhaps more than in any other warning, disaster was to be seen in the very evident departure of God from the land with the concomitant rise in idolatry, popery, and Arminianism—to the Puritan mind, all synonyms for Roman Catholicism and high church doctrines—and with the obvious increase in doctrinal corruption and more depravity among the clergy.¹⁸ In addition to this desertion of God's truth, the divine disfavor was further instanced in the nation's growing enfeeblement, so that England, once terrible to others, was now openly mocked—perhaps a pointed allusion to Buckingham's recent defeat at the Isle of Rhé.¹⁹

Having thus pictured the destruction which hung over England, the ministers turned in the later parts of their sermons to

13 Jeremiah Dyke, *A sermon preached at the publicke fast to the commons house of parliament April. 5th. 1628* (London, 1628), 27.

14 John Preston, *A sermon preached at a generall fast before the commons-house of parliament: the second of Iuly, 1625* (London, 1633), appended to John Preston, *The saints qualification* (London, 1634), 271-274.

15 Dyke, *A sermon*, 22.

16 *Ibid.*, 9.

17 *Ibid.*, 10-12, 23.

18 *Ibid.*, 17-21, 24-25.

19 *Ibid.*, 20-21, 25.

the sole remedy which would avert the nation's doom. To Preston, this remedy was "zeal," and to Dyke it was "reformation," but in both cases the description was of something very like Puritanism. After pointing out that there were wicked men in the kingdom crying down religion and zeal under the name of preciseness, Preston told the Commons of 1625, "It were well, if some meanes were used to prevent this." "If it be zeale that turnes away the wrath of God," he went on, "we should doe well then to nourish and cherish them that are zealous."²⁰ Three years later Dyke was inclined to be less moderate and went far beyond Preston's insistence that the Puritans merely be left unmolested. Though the people may fast and pray and Parliament may labor, he declared, yet anything less than a complete reformation would be but a "cock-boat" to deceive the nation, not an "ark" to save it.²¹ Such an "ark" as he desired, he explained, could be built only by the "publique reformation of all such nationall prouocations as haue made God angry. . . ."²² As a corollary to these appeals for the advancement of Puritanism, both ministers asked that the ancient Protestant faith be protected from the attempts to corrupt or replace it. Let it not suffer "the least detriment,"²³ charged Preston, while Dyke expressed a similar plea that the house would keep "our old God, and our old truth" in England.²⁴ In this connection, the two preachers demanded justice on the high church party and the Roman Catholics. While Preston was somewhat vague in his request that punishment be inflicted on the devotees of idolatry and superstition,²⁵ Dyke was bold enough to ask outright for suppression of the Arminians and for the execution of the penal laws against the papists.²⁶

Like all Puritan appeals since the genesis of the movement, the fast day sermons reserved a prominent place for the demand for an able, sound, preaching ministry. Such a demand in itself was deeply critical of the Establishment and of the many Anglican clergy who could not or did not choose to conform to the Puritan conception of the ministry. The House was not obliged to infer the criticism, however, for Dyke explicitly asked the Commons to purge God's house of all "filthinesse" and specifi-

20 Preston, *A sermon*, 286.

21 Dyke, *A sermon*, 38-42.

22 *Ibid.*, 38.

23 Preston, *A sermon*, 297.

24 Dyke, *A sermon*, 42-43.

25 Preston, *A sermon*, 295, 297.

26 Dyke, *A sermon*, 42-43, 46-47.

cally attacked vacant pastorates, poor maintenance, and unscrupulous impropiators;²⁷ and Preston in a rather ambiguous passage pled for the removal of the "dogs that will devoure," "those that endeavour to put out the light, that so they may the better prevaile, and teach their doctrines of darkenesse."²⁸ As always, the Commons was forcefully reminded that many souls in Wales and the northern counties were perishing for want of knowledge, and that they would continue to do so until the able, preaching ministry was established.²⁹

Every device was used in the fast day sermons to strengthen the appeal to the members of the House. For one thing, all the power of language was utilized to invoke the religious and humanitarian emotions of the members, and Dyke constantly employed such phrases as "Bee ye entreated in the bowels of the Lord Iesus Christ. . . ."³⁰ and "Thinke that you heare the Church both at home and abroad, crying out vnto you, An Arke, An Arke, for Gods loue prouide vs an Arke."³¹ Not merely sympathy, however, but action as well was desired, and there seems to have been an attempt to elicit a willingness to act among those who otherwise would have been little more than well-wishers. To spur these laggards, Preston warned the audience that the fast in itself was worthless if reformation did not issue from it, for God ignores mere lip service and "judgeth every man according to his workes."³² Furthermore, every man was made to feel the tremendous responsibility of his election to the Parliament, in a manner which sometimes bordered on intimidation. Dyke addressed the house as "You . . . the great Senate of the land, vpon whom our eyes and hopes next vnder God and the King are,"³³ and Preston sternly informed them that "the Lord markes what every man doth for his Church, he observes who is zealous, and who sits still, . . . and how much every man doth."³⁴ As the sermons drew near their conclusions, the exhortations became more intense. Earlier in his address Preston had proved the ultimate impotence of princes in the face of the fact that only

27 *Ibid.*, 44.

28 Preston, *A sermon*, 299. This may refer to Roman Catholicism rather than to high church Anglicanism, though both parties were obnoxious to the Puritans.

29 *Ibid.*, 298-299.

30 Dyke, *A sermon*, 35.

31 *Ibid.*, 37.

32 Preston, *A sermon*, 285.

33 Dyke, *A sermon*, 35.

34 Preston, *A sermon*, 294.

God is the author of good and evil,³⁵ and now he further encouraged the Commons with the prophecy that the plague currently raging in England would remain until the work of reformation was accomplished.³⁶ Even these arguments, however, were surpassed by the eloquence of Dyke in the sermon of 1628. In this address, Dyke urged the members to set about building the "ark" with speed and thoroughness but warned them that there must be unity among the builders or all would be lost.³⁷ As a last counsel, the Commons was advised to take courage and set to work bravely, putting the welfare of the state before their own private concerns. Then, in a somewhat ambiguous but nevertheless pointed statement, he followed up this advice with the reminder that it was better to perish for a kingdom than with it, and concluded with the command, "Doe you arise and build, and the God of heauen prosper you."³⁸

Though the sermons were similar in outline and in the methods of attack which they utilized, there was some difference in the degree of vehemence with which they were inspired. Unlike that of Dyke, Preston's sermon gives the impression of having been written with great care in an effort to incline the House toward Puritanism while at the same time avoid giving unnecessary offense to the government. The point of the entire address was obviously to make fullest use of the power of words to impress the House with the necessity of halting the progress of God's wrath by reformation of the church. Yet throughout the work, the corruptions in the church were never very specifically referred to, though the import of his words must have been evident to every member of his audience. Behind this delicacy was most likely the fact that Buckingham was in the act of making friendly overtures to the Puritans—indeed Preston himself was playing the part of the Duke's *protégé*—and doubtless Preston did not wish to portray the corruptions of the Establishment with too embarrassing concreteness. Then, too, the King had just ascended the throne, and it is likely that Preston, though not disposed to compromise, shared the hesitancy of

35 *Ibid.*, 261. "Indeed wee care for the favour of Princes, and think that they can hurt us, or doe us good; and therefore wee are so intent about them, so busily occupied about them, but this would not worke on us so much if wee did beleieve . . . that God onely is the Author of good and evil."

36 *Ibid.*, 299-300.

37 Dyke, *A sermon*, 47-49.

38 *Ibid.*, 49.

all men to attack the government without giving it a chance to prove itself.³⁹

If such considerations diminished the force of the Puritan message to the House of Commons in 1625, no such scruples were entertained in the sermon of Jeremiah Dyke in 1628. In the three years which had intervened, the government had indeed proved itself, and the Puritans were forced to realize that for the first time in their history they had to contend with a vigorous and aggressive high church policy supported by the Crown. The resulting sermon was a masterpiece of Puritan rhetoric—an indictment of the existing corruptions and an impassioned exhortation to reformation, which even over the space of three centuries still exercises considerable power on the reader. Doubtless, it would be somewhat naive to imagine that the House would be converted to the Puritan program through no other agency than the eloquence of Puritan sermons delivered near the opening of the session. Nevertheless, the fast day sermons, exercising some influence over the more moderate center of the House and acting in combination with a zealous Puritan minority, could be highly useful to the Puritan party. The Puritans were well aware of the value of the institution, and in 1640 they used the fast day sermons as the platform from which to launch their attacks on Anglicanism.⁴⁰ By 1629, Charles himself was awake to the propaganda effect of the sermons, and though he granted Parliament's petition for a fast, he complained that "the chief Motive of your Petition, being the deplorable condition of the Reformed Churches abroad, is too true: . . . but certainly, fighting will do them more good than fasting; tho' I do not wholly disallow of the latter: yet I must tell you, that the custom of fasting every Session, is but lately begun, and I confess, I am not fully satisfied with the necessity of it at this time."⁴¹

The Puritan influence exerted through the fast day sermons was ably seconded by the sermons of the Puritan preachers

39 In a similar spirit, the Commons in 1625 resolved to forego their customary consideration of grievances (*Commons Journal*, I, 800; Gardiner, *Debates*, 9-12).

40 Cf. Cornelius Burges, *A sermon preached to the honourable house of commons assembled in parliament. at their publike fast, Novem. 17. 1640* (London, 1641); Stephen Marshall, *A sermon preached before the honourable house of commons, now assembled in parliament, at their publike fast, November 17. 1640* (London, 1641).

41 John Rushworth (ed.), *Historical collections* (London, 1721), I, 651; Notestein and Relf, *Commons Debates*, 28-29.

at the Inns of Court. The value of these preacherships to the Puritans lay in the distinction of the audience, for the lawyers of the Inns were strongly represented in the House and were appointed in large numbers—sometimes *en masse*—to important committees. No more telling illustration of the pre-eminence of the lawyers in the House can be made than the assertion that of the leaders of the Commons in the first three parliaments of Charles—Coke, Eliot, Wentworth, and Pym—each in some way or another was connected with the Inns, while a catalogue of the lesser lawyer-members could be made that would be almost equally imposing.⁴²

To minister to these important congregations, the Puritans were fortunate in having some of their ablest divines. Though the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple were served by the Master of the Temple, a minister nominated by the Crown, the preacherships at both Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn were filled by Puritans of the most eminent stature. Although there is some confusion on the point, the post at Lincoln's Inn seems to have been occupied jointly by John Preston and Edward Reynolds.⁴³ Preston we have already met as the preacher before the Commons in 1625, and despite the tremendous pressure of his many other duties, he continued to serve the congregation of lawyers until he burned himself out and died in 1628 at the age of forty. After this event, the pulpit at Lincoln's Inn was occupied solely by Reynolds,⁴⁴ a moderate parliamentarian throughout the Civil Wars and the only Puritan to accept a bishopric at the Restoration. The equally important post at Gray's Inn was filled by the "heavenly" Richard Sibbes, the master of St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, and one of the leaders in a scheme to secure control of lay patronage to ecclesiastical livings—the notorious lay feoffees of impropriations venture.⁴⁵

That the Puritans highly regarded the preacherships for propaganda purposes is a fact of which there can be little doubt. The audiences at the Inns were comprised not only of celebrated leaders of the Commons but of distinguished figures in the City

42 Coke and Pym were, of course, prominent in the affairs of the inns, while all four men received part of their education there.

43 *The records of the honorable society of Lincoln's Inn. The black books* (London, 1898), II, 234-235; William Arthur Jobson Archbold, "Edward Reynolds," *The Dictionary of National Biography*, XVI, 926-927.

44 *The records of the honorable society of Lincoln's Inn*, II, 277-278.

45 Reginald J. Fletcher (ed.), *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn (Records of the honourable society) 1569-1669* (London, 1901), 224.

as well, and such an audience could not have failed to make an appeal to the eloquence of the Puritan ministers. "It suted with him," wrote Thomas Ball, the pupil and later biographer of Preston, "to have an opportunity to exercise his Ministry in a considerable and intelligent congregation, where he was assured, many Parliament men, and others of his best acquaintance would be his hearers";⁴⁶ and though Reynolds resigned his pulpit at Lincoln's Inn to accept the living at Bramston, Northamptonshire, in 1631,⁴⁷ Richard Sibbes refused an important post at Trinity College, Dublin, on the grounds that he was of greater service in his English positions as preacher at Gray's and as master of Catherine Hall.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, but few sermons of these preachers can be identified as having been preached in the Inns of Court, and even these may well have been delivered outside the period 1625-1629. Of the sermons delivered before the lawyers, a great many were doctrinal and therefore unconcerned with the political events of the day except in so far as they tended to intensify the Puritanism of their hearers. Nevertheless, there were some which dealt at some length with the Puritan aspirations and with the afflictions which frustrated those aspirations. Richard Sibbes in *The Church's visitation* repeated the familiar attacks against the innovators in doctrine, and dwelt on the urgent necessity for reformation.⁴⁹ A variation of this theme was preached in a sermon of John Preston, some time before 1628 (the year of his death). Apparently delivered in a time of discouragement in an effort to revive fallen spirits, Preston counselled his audience to retain hope while expounding the doctrine that God brings men to extremity only to deliver them at the darkest moment. "When you see the greatest tryals befall the Church and people of God," he declared, "bee assured by this which hath beene said, that some great benefit is comming to them."⁵⁰

46 Thomas Ball, "The life of Doctor Preston," in Samuel Clarke, *A generall martyrologie, containing a collection of all the greatest persecutions which have befallen the church of Christ from the creation to our present times* (London, 1651), 494.

47 *The records of the honorable society of Lincoln's Inn*, II, 304 note.

48 Charles Richard Elrington (ed.), *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D. D., Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland* (Dublin, 1864), XVI, 440-441.

49 Alexander Balloch Grossart (ed.), *The Complete Works of Richard Sibbes, D.D., Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge; Preacher of Gray's Inn, London* (Edinburgh, 1862), I, 376-383.

50 John Preston, *A sermon preached at Lincolnes-Inne on Gen. xxiij.xiv.* (London, 1635), 23.

It is, of course, impossible to determine just how influential was the Puritan pulpit in the Inns. That considerable power was wielded in at least one case is suggested by Thomas Ball, who in writing of Preston's part in the Parliament of 1624, declared that "his Sermons at Lincolns-Inne much wrought upon the Parliament, so that a bold Petition was contrived and presented to the King. . . ." ⁵¹ Preston's ability, both as a skilful politician and a brilliant preacher, was doubtless extraordinary, but the influence of other preachers at the Inns could not have been altogether negligible.

Though a powerful weapon in the hands of the skilled Puritan preachers, the sermon had several limitations. For one thing, the sermon could address itself only broadly to the need for reform and assert somewhat vaguely the program desired. On every occasion the minister had to exercise extreme caution in outlining specific demands for fear of arousing the opposition of the House, always sensitive about its privileges and somewhat anti-clerical as well. Thus, when it came to making actual demands, Preston was obliged to become half-apologetic and to content himself with little more than remarking, "I say no more, but commend it to every man in his place, wishing that you would let it be your generall care to encourage true Religion and Zeale. . . ." ⁵² In addition to this disadvantage, moreover, the sermon was a public oration, always delivered in the presence of a large number of people and frequently printed as well. Since Puritanism was a quasi-illegal movement, it was usually the case that its deepest aspirations and its favorite plans could not be exposed to the world's view. As a consequence of this condition, the Puritan ministers frequently sought more direct and more secretive means of bringing their appeals to the attention of the members of the House.

Unfortunately, only the barest evidence of such activity exists, and to some extent resort must be made to the doubtful historical practice of looking to Puritan methods after 1640 to serve as a guide for 1625-1629. Nevertheless, though these Puritan methods cannot be definitely established beyond a doubt, there is sufficient material to throw some interesting light on the use which the Puritan clergy made of the petition, of personal contact and of correspondence with Parliament men.

⁵¹ Ball, "Doctor Preston," 502.

⁵² Preston, *A sermon preached at a generall fast*, 287.

Like the sermon, the petition was usually publicly presented; but unlike it, it could exercise a certain directness in articulating its demands. Couched in respectful and submissive language, but presenting abundant evidence in support of its complaints, the Puritan petition could often direct the attention of the Commons in a way that was denied to the less factual, homiletical type of address. At the beginning of most parliaments, a committee on religion was appointed, and it is almost certain that a large portion of its business was concerned with the consideration of petitions on religion, though since we must rely on rather imperfect reports, there can be little certainty as to their number or importance.⁵³

In one case during this period, a Puritan petition produced an issue of primary importance in the House. This was the appeal of two East Anglican Puritan clergymen, John Yates and Samuel Ward, against a high church canon of Windsor, Richard Montague. In 1624, Montague had written *A new gagg for an old goose*, a book which was intended as a defense of Anglicanism against a Catholic attack but which was deeply offensive to the Puritans. Although Pym reported to the House on the petition on May 13, 1624, the Commons at first did nothing more than refer the matter to the attention of George Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵⁴ In the Parliament of 1625, however, the *New gagg* and a more recent work of Montague's, the *Appello caesarem*, were taken up in earnest and formed one of the primary sources of friction between the King and the Commons.⁵⁵ The result of this quarrel was that Montague was censured by the House, and thus the high church party received a major, though only temporary, setback.⁵⁶ In a similar manner in 1629, a petition directed the attention of the House to the objectionable high church practices of Montague's friend, the

53 One insight into Puritan practice may be provided in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*, where among the calendared papers of Sir Robert Harley, a Puritan member, is found the bare notation of "a list of petitions to be made on a day of humiliation" (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report 14, appendix, part 2. The manuscripts of his grace, the duke of Portland, preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, III [London, 1894], 23). If indeed a number of Puritan petitions were presented to the House on the fast day, it speaks much for Puritan shrewdness in choosing the right psychological moment to approach the Commons with their demands. There is some reason to think, however, that the list was merely a program of Sir Robert's personal devotions.

54 *Commons Journal*, I, 788.

55 *Commons Journal*, I, 802, 805-806, 807, 809-810, 811, 812; Gardiner, *Debates*, 26, 33-35, 46-53, 61-63, 69-71.

56 *Commons Journal*, I, 851, 871, 911; see also Gardiner, *Debates*, 179-186.

Archdeacon John Cosin; and though he did not suffer punishment at this time, he was severely dealt with by the Long Parliament.⁵⁷

As these instances demonstrate, the Puritan petition could be a formidable instrument at times, especially when combined with the support of the Puritan membership in the House. In spite of this success, however, it does not seem that during the period 1625-1629 the Puritans employed the petition to an extent anything like their practice in 1640 and 1641, when it was one of the principal means for the overthrow of episcopacy.

Though evidence of the Puritan use of petition may be considered shadowy, that of the personal contact between Puritan preachers and members of the House is even more unsubstantial. That this is so is primarily due to the fact that it is impossible to recapture unrecorded conversations. To be sure, from time to time we have indications that the Puritan clergy did not hesitate to work for their interests with the Commons members. Thus, at a meeting of the committee on religion in 1629, Sir Robert Phelps strengthened a charge against the high church party with testimony which he had received from a Dr. Marshall, and a certain Oliver Cromwell made a similar assertion on the authority of the Puritan preacher, Thomas Beard.⁵⁸

On the whole, however, such conversations left no trace, and research is generally forced to be content with tracing the opportunities which the Puritan clergy possessed for such personal pressure exercised by them. Altogether, the indications of friendship between Puritan ministers and members of the House are not over-scarce. Preston on at least one occasion visited at the home of a Commons leader in the West,⁵⁹ while in 1622 Sibbes wrote to the future Archbishop Ussher a letter of introduction for his "worthy friends," Sir Nathaniel Rich and Thomas Crew, both prominent members of the Commons and important in the Puritan opposition.⁶⁰ In addition, scholarly men in the House may well have been interested in maintaining correspondence with the intellectually minded Puritan divines, and in the letters of Ussher we seem to discern a circle which included John Selden, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, and Sir

⁵⁷ *Commons Journal*, I, 926.

⁵⁸ Notestein and Relf, *Commons Debates*, 59.

⁵⁹ Ball, "Doctor Preston," 504.

⁶⁰ Elrington, *The Whole Works of . . . James Ussher*, XVI, 395.

Robert Cotton, as well as Samuel Ward, the great Puritan scholar of Cambridge.⁶¹

Not only through the attention of friendship, however, did the Puritan ministers come into contact with the members of the Commons; for they were sometimes thrown together in the course of their work as well. Certainly one of the most important points of contact must have been the preacherships at the inns of court where there was ample opportunity for conferring with the sympathetic lawyer-members on the affairs of the movement. It is likely, however, that still more important influence (though perhaps less widely diffused) was exerted in the course of carrying out a project on which Puritan clergy and laity both participated. About 1625—just at the beginning of the period under consideration—the Puritan scheme for gaining control of the church by buying up lay impropriations to benefices was revived. The governing board of this venture was composed of twelve men—four ministers, four lawyers, and four citizens of London—and thus constituted a sort of nerve center for the movement. Though Preston was not directly involved in the scheme, he was rumored to be its guiding spirit, and Sibbes, John Davenport, Charles Offspring, and Richard Stock—all prominent Puritan clergy—were members of the board. The link with the Commons was supplied in the person of Christopher Sherland, feoffee, representative in Parliament for Northampton, and member of Gray's Inn. The board met frequently, and though there is little evidence to establish the assertion, it may have been a center where party plans were hatched. Although the activities of the board were discovered and the feoffees were put on trial in 1633, the board was operative throughout the period of parliamentary sittings.⁶²

This evidence, of course, is primarily circumstantial, and it is perhaps with some risk that the historian trusts himself to it at all. Nevertheless, it is definitely known that Puritan ministers wielded great personal influence on Parliament in the events following 1640, and the additional fact that attempts were made to sway the Commons by other mediums makes for a

61 *Ibid.*, XV, XVI, *passim*.

62 For treatments of the feoffees scheme, see Ethyn W. Kirby, "The Lay Feoffees: a Study in Militant Puritanism," *The Journal of Modern History*, XIV (1942), 1-25; Henry A. Parker, "The Feoffees of Impropriations," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts: Transactions* (1906-1907), XI, 263-277.

strong presumption that personal contacts were not allowed to lie unutilized.

Like personal contact, the private letter had the advantage of being both personal and secret, though, of course, the size of its audience was considerably smaller than that of either the sermon or the petition. That the Puritan clergy employed such a medium in their endeavor to maintain contact between themselves and the Puritan minority in the House can be adequately established from the existing evidence, though that evidence is far too meager to permit many general conclusions being drawn. Unhappily, only two small sources of material exist for the American worker, principally because the letters of rather obscure Puritan ministers have not been deemed valuable materials for publication. The largest body of such correspondence—and even this is exceedingly shallow—has been calendared in the papers of the Commons member, Sir Robert Harley, in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*. During the third decade of the seventeenth century, Sir Robert carried on a correspondence with William Gouge, the lecturer at Blackfriars, and Thomas Taylor, the rector of St. Mary Aldermanbury, as well as with his own pastor, Thomas Pierson, the rector at Sir Robert's seat of Brampton Bryan. It is somewhat disappointing that in most cases, the letters were concerned with little more than supplying Sir Robert with news of the fortunes of the party. Thus in 1627, Thomas Taylor notified Harley that the plans for a parliament had apparently been dropped since the King had received a loan of money from the City,⁶³ while in the following year Thomas Pierson sent his patron news of the election in the county while at the same time he gave expression to his despair that any good would come out of the coming Convocation.⁶⁴ A little later, this same minister exulted at the "‘good and heavenly newes’ concerning the day of Humiliation and the resolution of your house to begin with the cause of God"⁶⁵—an additional testimony of the Puritan adherence to the institution of the fast day.

Beyond these papers of Sir Robert Harley, the sole evidence we possess is two letters of John Preston. In spite of the fact that these letters do not exist even in calendared form and resort

⁶³ *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 22.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

must be made to Ball's account of them, they prove far more interesting than those of Harley. The first letter was elicited by the fact that unfavorable reports were being spread concerning Preston's participation in a conference on Montague's books. In an endeavor to bring about a decision in the dispute caused by the publication of that high churchman's works, two Puritan peers had arranged a conference of four ministers, of whom Preston was one. Though the conference seems to have ended without the question being settled, it was widely noised about that the hierarchy has bested the Puritans. This rumor evidently alarmed and offended many Parliament men, and Preston, somewhat alarmed himself at their indignation, found himself obliged to write letters to them, giving the Puritan version of the conference.⁶⁶

Apparently the Puritan correspondence was not confined to news letters, however, for in at least one instance Preston advised direct action against the government. For several years, Preston had been the favorite of the Duke of Buckingham, but by the second Parliament of Charles he, like the nation as a whole, had become estranged from him. Convinced that Buckingham had deserted the Puritan cause for that of Catholicism on the Continent and of high church Anglicanism in England, Preston exerted his influence to bring about a parliamentary attack on the Duke. He was evidently working in close accord with one of the members from Northamptonshire, and, as Thomas Ball records it, "to him the Doctor [i.e. Preston] in a letter discovers all, shews him the hopelesse posture of the Duke, how much they both were disappointed in him, lays some directions what to do, and urgeth activenesse."⁶⁷

Although it is difficult to determine exactly for whom this letter was meant, it is likely that the recipient was a member of the Puritan minority in the House and this likelihood is increased by the fact that Ball tells us that he was a man "with whom the Doctor used to communicate affairs."⁶⁸ At any rate, it is quite certain that Preston's letter was closely connected with the efforts of the Commons House in 1626 to impeach Buckingham, and since Preston was one of the leaders of the party, it may well have contained a promise of Puritan support to the House in that endeavor.

66 Ball, "Doctor Preston," 511.

67 *Ibid.*, 514.

68 *Ibid.*

Though it would be hazardous to draw many conclusions from so small a store of evidence, it is nevertheless true that the available material does demonstrate that some Puritan clergy were in correspondence with some members of the Commons. A large number of these communications may have been mere news letters, as were those of Sir Robert Harley, but in the two Preston letters we catch a brief glimpse of the important political maneuvering in which the Puritan ministers engaged in the attempt to realize the goals of the party.

Despite the data accumulated in this essay to describe the contacts which Puritan ministers established with the members of the House of Commons, it is important that the case be not over-emphasized. Puritanism always had a strong lay leadership and this especially came to the fore in Parliament, so that it was not necessary to depend on the ministers for detailed guidance. In all probability, the clergy did not risk arousing the latent anti-clericalism of the House by frequently attempting to interfere too directly in the legislature's affairs. But surreptitiously, a steady stream of propaganda and exhortation could be directed at the members through the use of the letter and personal contact, while the sermon—and the petition, to some extent—could be utilized to the same effect under the guise of exercising the ministerial prerogative of spiritual counsel. While the amount of success which the Puritans obtained is entirely a matter of conjecture, it is altogether likely that their accomplishments constitute a not unimportant chapter in the history of the events which ushered in the Puritan Revolution.

MINUTES OF THE PACIFIC COAST MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

A Pacific Coast Meeting of the American Society of Church History was held at the Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, Berkeley, California, on Friday, September 14, 1945.

President Sanford Fleming presided and called the meeting to order at 10:00 a. m. Statements concerning the purpose of the meeting were made by the chairman and by Professor Quirinus Breen of the University of Oregon. Portion of a letter from Professor Raymond W. Albright, Secretary of the National Society, was read as follows:

Following correspondence with Prof. Quirinus Breen, our Council of the American Society of Church History, at its meeting in Chicago on December 29, seriously considered the possibility of a Pacific Coast meeting of the Society. The following is a record of the action taken at our Council meeting.

"Voted to approve and encourage formation of a branch of our membership on the Pacific Coast. The Council shall add one name from the Pacific area to its membership. It is understood that the program and the place for the meeting shall be determined by a committee to be appointed by President Fleming and Professor Breen. The report on the program shall be submitted to the Secretary of the Society and shall be included in the printed record of our proceedings."

The Council also appointed the President of the Society, the Secretary, and Prof. Matthew Spinka to comprise an auxiliary committee to lend such assistance as may be deemed necessary to establish and arrange a meeting of our Society on the Pacific Coast.

After a general discussion concerning the desirability of organizing a Pacific Coast section of the Society, Professor Breen moved and Dr. Earl M. Wilbur seconded a motion that "this group undertake the organization of a Pacific Coast Branch of the American Society of Church History." The motion was carried unanimously. It was further resolved that the chairman appoint a nominating committee to report at the opening of the afternoon session. The committee appointed was as follows: Professor Ralph E. Knudsen, Professor Charles Whiston, and Professor Charles C. McCown. This committee reported at 2:00 p.m. and the following officers were elected:

President	President Sandford Fleming Berkeley Baptist Divinity School
Vice-President	Professor Quirinus Breen University of Oregon
Secretary-Treasurer	Rev. Henry M. Shires Church Divinity School of the Pacific
Executive Committee: the officers and four additional members:	Professor Francis L. Bouquet San Francisco Theological Seminary Professor Frank J. Klingberg University of California, Los Angeles Professor George H. Williams Starr King School for the Ministry Rev. L. L. Loufbourrow Oakland, California

There was an excellent program consisting of six papers and these aroused considerable interest and discussion. The program was as follows:

The Place of Historic Event in Faith.

Charles Whiston, Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley, California.

The Making of a New Testament in the Second Century.

John W. Bailey, Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, Berkeley, California.

Intercultural Clashes in Early Christian History.

Chester C. McCown, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California.

Melanchthon's Doctrine of Eloquentia.

Quirinus Breen, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

How Far Was Poland Tolerant in the Period of the Reformation.

Earl M. Wilbur, Starr King School for the Ministry, Berkeley, California.

Söderblom, the Ecumenical Father.

John E. Skoglund, Berkeley Baptist Divinity School,
Berkeley, California.

The members of the group attended the City Commons Club of Berkeley for luncheon. Tea was served by the students of Women's Hall of the Divinity School and a happy time of fellowship ensued. Greetings were received from the Secretary of the National Society, Professor Albright, and the following letter from the President was read:

The program sounds most interesting, an auspicious beginning of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Society of Church History. I wish that my schedule permitted me to be present, but since attendance seems out of the question, will you please convey to the meeting my greetings, and my hearty good wishes for the success of this promising venture.

Faithfully yours,

K. L. Latourette
President, American Society of
Church History

The total attendance at the various sessions was 35.

HENRY M. SHIRES,
Secretary-Treasurer.

IN MEMORIAM

JAMES ARTHUR MULLER 1884 - 1945

The passing of Professor James Arthur Muller on September 5, 1945, at his home in Cambridge, Mass., has left our Society bereft of a distinguished scholar, a devoted and effective teacher, and a faithful and unselfish friend. When his fatal illness overtook him last summer, his valiant Christian spirit and disciplined devotion were crowned by his heroic facing of death unafraid.

Professor Muller came to his life's task excellently trained. His elementary education was received in the public schools of Philadelphia, in which city he was born on December 23, 1884. After his graduation from Princeton in 1907 he prepared for the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church at the Episcopal Theological School. At the same time that he received his divinity degree from the latter institution, in 1910, he took an M.A. at Harvard. During the years 1910-15 he was a fellow in history, first at his *alma mater* and then at his seminary, two years of which were occupied with study in Europe. Upon receiving his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1915 he became an instructor at his seminary. From 1917 to 1919 he was a professor at Boone University, Wuchang, China. Shortly after his return to this country he became professor of history at St. Stephen's College, and in 1923 lecturer at the General Theological Seminary. He returned to his seminary as professor of Modern Church History in the latter part of 1923, and held this position until his untimely death.

During all these years he exercised regularly the ministry of his Church, serving and supplying various parishes. From 1933 to 1940 he was a member of the Standing Liturgical Commission of the Episcopal Church, and at the time of his death was Registrar of the Diocese of Massachusetts and a member of the diocesan Music Commission. In 1943 he was awarded an honorary Litt.D. degree from Occidental College.

When in 1926 Professor Muller's first book appeared, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (S.P.C.K.), his work was immediately acclaimed on both sides of the Atlantic for its

painstaking accuracy, its unsparing impartiality, its vividness of presentation. These qualities were to mark all of his teaching and writing. His edition of *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge University Press, 1933) closed an outstanding gap in researches in the English Reformation and provided indispensable material for all future work in the subject. For his magisterial work in this field Professor Muller was elected a fellow of the Royal Historical Society, London.

The brief years spent in China bore fruit in articles in the *National Geographic* and *Asia* magazines, and more particularly in the interest which led to his biography of Bishop Schereschewsky (*Apostle of China*, Morehouse, 1937), a model of scholarly popularization. His preface to this volume, in which he recounts his gathering of materials, is a lesson for all historians in the diligent search for sources. The book was translated into Chinese in 1940. In connection with the 75th anniversary of the Episcopal Theological School, the seminary published a history of the institution by Professor Muller (1943), which exhibits his capacity for treating a subject, which in less skillful hands would have but a limited appeal, with such lively interest and breadth of interest as to make it a significant contribution to American Church History. It is a source of great regret that he was not spared to complete his biography of Philander Chase. A preview of it may be found in his paper read before the Society at its Spring meeting in 1944, and published in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (June, 1945), a periodical to which he frequently contributed and of which he was an associate editor from its inception in 1932.

Professor Muller was married in 1919 to Dr. Gulli Lindh, whose scholarly publications in the field of medicine were an encouragement and stimulus to his own researches. Their home in Cambridge has ever been a place of happy and generous hospitality and a favorite resort for students and returned alumni of the seminary. Deeply loyal to his Church and School, thoughtful and unselfish in all his relationships, and of the utmost integrity of heart and mind, Professor Muller will be sorely missed by his companions of the way.

Massey H. Shepherd, Jr.
Episcopal Theological School.

AMONG THE MEMBERS

EDITED BY WINTHROP S. HUDSON

- J. MINTON BATTEN, formerly professor of church history at Scarritt College, has been appointed to the faculty of Garrett Biblical Institute.
- A. T. DEGROOT, formerly of Drake University, has been appointed dean of Chapman College in Los Angeles, California. His new book, *Central of Des Moines*, will be published in January, 1946. It is "the first planned, book-size history of a local church of the Disciples of Christ."
- GEORGE GORDH, formerly of Mercer University, has been appointed assistant professor of historical theology in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago.
- E. HARRIS HARBISON has been appointed to a full professorship in Princeton University.
- E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN of Princeton Theological Seminary delivered a series of lectures at the fall conference of the Massachusetts Congregational ministers, held at Andover-Newton Seminary. His general theme was "The Purpose and Power of the Christian Faith."
- ALBERT C. OUTLER, formerly of the Divinity School of Duke University, has accepted a position in the field of historical theology at the Yale Divinity School.
- WILLIAM C. WALZER has joined the faculty of Scarritt College, Nashville, Tennessee, as professor of church history. For the past two years Mr. Walzer had been serving as an instructor in the Garrett Biblical Institute.

Notices for this department, announcing publication of books, professional articles, and changes of rank and position of members of the Society, should be mailed to Winthrop S. Hudson, Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

BOOK REVIEWS

KEPLER AND THE JESUITS

By M. W. BURKE-GAFFNEY, S. J. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1944. 138 pages. \$2.00.

The Dean of Engineering at St. Mary's College, Halifax (formerly professor of Astronomy and Mathematics in Toronto) in this little volume, authoritative not only by *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur* but also by the *imprimi potest* of his own Order, describes Johann Kepler's acquaintance and scientific relations with numerous Jesuit mathematicians and astronomers of the day over a period of over three decades. The heretical Lutheran, who believed in witches and that God creates the spirit of a comet which later evanesces, who opposed the Catholic Church because it had "sowed mustard in the field of apostolic teaching," puts in a good word for the pope's calendar and discusses the new star, chronology, sun spots, the heliocentric hypothesis, comets and kindred subjects with Catholic or Protestant in the period just prior to the Thirty Years' War. A brief biography of Kepler precedes and in the course of the narrative the various achievements and mistakes of Kepler come under review. The principal value of the study consists of the quotations from the correspondence.

Chapter VIII, "Heliocentric Hypothesis," devotes five-sixths of the space to Galileo's first clash with the Holy Office. It decides that to affirm that the sun was the centre of the universe was philosophically foolish and absurd as well as heretical because it was opposed to many texts of the Holy Scriptures; and that to affirm that the earth was not the centre of the universe and was not immovable was likewise bad philosophy and at least erroneous in faith. The decision was confidential and there were no threats and no directive. This was in 1616. Now what surprises is that Galileo's second clash with the Holy Office in 1633 is dismissed with two brief sentences. Since the author lets Galileo blast *Aristotle's Mechanics* (today admittedly spurious) sky high, we had anticipated a banquet! The remaining one-sixth of the chapter is devoted to Galileo's request for the Keplerian-Copernican work and the *Epitome* was sent on despite Galileo's rude treatment of Kepler in 1597.

The years of the birth and death of Jesus received much study from Kepler who finally let Herod die in 4 B.C., Jesus be born in 6 B.C., and die in A.D. 31. The author observes that Jesus was crucified in the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate which he dates A.D. 27 to 37, that the day of the crucifixion was a Friday, and that according to John 13:1, 18:28, 19:31, it was prior to the eating of the paschal lamb on the night of Nisan 14, thus siding with John against the synoptists. But Nisan 14 fell on Friday only on April 7, A.D. 30 and on April 3, A.D. 33 during Pilate's procuratorship. Since the first passover of John's gospel came in A.D. 29, according to our author, the third passover must be dated A.D. 31. Now, continues our author, Nisan 14, A.D. 31, fell on Saturday, March 24, if

the Christian calendar is used: on Sunday, March 25, if reckoned from the astronomical new moon; on Tuesday, March 27, if reckoned from the first appearance of the new moon at sunset. In any case then, Kepler was in error about A.D. 31 being the year of the crucifixion. Therefore, Jesus died in A.D. 33, *q.e.d.*

But the passover of John 2 has long been identified with that of John 13ff. Whence one returns *on the argument of the author* to April 7, A.D. 30 as the year and day of the death of Jesus. Now not only Kepler, but the author is in error.

On Kepler's relations with Brahe, the author comments, "for thirty years they (the *Observations*) had been a gold mine to him. He had pleaded that he must first publish the *Rudolphine Tables*. Three years had passed since the publication of the tables and there was as yet no sign or promise of their source, Brahe's *Observations*." Then Kepler died, and may God have mercy on his soul.

University of Rochester.

Conrad Henry Moehlman.

THE JOURNALS OF HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG

Transl. by THEODOR G. TAPPERT and JOHN W. DOBERSTEIN. Volume II. Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1945. 772 pages. \$3.50 by subscription only.

The first volume in this set was reviewed in CHURCH HISTORY for March, 1943. In the meantime it is gratifying to observe how widely this work has been welcomed by scholars as a first-class source document for American church history and for general American culture. This second volume has been eagerly awaited by the students of history. It is somewhat larger than the first volume, but fully as attractive in appearance and fascinating in contents.

Volume one carried the story of Muhlenberg's amazing activities from the beginning of 1742 to the end of 1763. It covered the first two periods of his career in America, the period of beginnings and adjustment (1742-1745), when his labors were limited to his three congregations in southeastern Pennsylvania, and the period of wide-spread influence through synod and church (1745-1763), when he bore on his heart "the care of all the churches." This new volume takes up his narrative at Sunday, January 1, 1764, and carries it through Tuesday, December 31, 1776. It covers the third period of his career, the period of the harvest.

Here he holds the candle to his face as he ponders the serious problems his own success has brought to him. His children go through school and take up their life work. The Lutheran Church grows into a position of influence in the commonwealth. The president of the Synod is torn with anguish at the wickedness of men and burdened with excessive demands upon his time and strength; but he records all his activities in detail, his sermon outlines and even his conversations in even greater detail than he did in the earlier years in America.

Besides the record of routine pastoral work and the administration of the Synod, this second volume carries the interesting story of Regina the captive, the long journey to Georgia to heal the troubles among the Salz-

burgers, the conflicts with fanatics and sectarians, and the association with men like the Weisers, Whitfield, Stiegel, Hartwig, and von Wrangel. Here also we see the sons of Muhlenberg emerging into prominence. We witness the gathering of the war-clouds, the outbreak of the Revolution, the declaration of independence, and at the very end Washington crossing the Delaware.

Volume Two maintains the same high quality of translation as characterized Volume One. It deepens our impression that we have in these books a veritable mine of historical and religious information, an invaluable help to the understanding of eighteenth century America.

Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

Abdel Ross Wentz

DANISH CHURCH HISTORY

Grundtvig of Denmark by NOELLE DAVIES. Liverpool: The Bryerthor Press, 1944. 56 pages.

Hymns and Hymn-writers of Denmark, by J. C. AABERG, Des Moines, Ia.: Committee on Publications of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 1945. 170 pages.

History of the Church of Denmark, by JENS CHRISTIAN KJAER. Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1945. 127 pages.

Unfortunately only very little has been written so far in the English language about the characteristic and rich life which the Christian Church has produced in Denmark. In recent years *Soren Kierkegaard* has become known to the English reading world through three valuable biographical books and several volumes of excellent translations of this author's fascinating productions. Many have now discovered that this lonely, melancholy Dane, who died in 1855, has a most timely message to proclaim to our country and to our generation.

Undoubtedly, another Dane, if he were properly presented to us in the English language, would be considered by many Americans an even greater and still more timely prophet, particularly now as we have crossed the threshold of a new epoch in the history of mankind. I am referring to the spiritual giant, Bishop N. F. S. Grundtvig, who in so many ways stands out in striking contrast to Kierkegaard. He was one of the world's greatest hymn writers, an unique educator, an original historian, a great theologian, and a successful democratic leader.

No adequate presentation of Grundtvig has yet been given in English. But three recent popular books give some information about him and about other great men of the Church of Denmark.

Dr. Davies, who has given her pamphlet the subtitle "A Guide to Small Nations" (it could surely also be used as a guide for big nations), is Welsh. She is particularly interested in calling attention to Grundtvig in order to stimulate a stronger national consciousness and self-confidence among her own people. By and large, she confines herself to present Grundtvig as a national leader and an originator of a new type of schools, the famous Danish Folk High Schools (sometimes, but not so well, called "Peoples' Colleges"). Her book has the following four chapters: 1. The National

Background; 2. the National Leader; 3. a National Philosophy; and 4. the School for Life. Within the brief space of this pamphlet, the author presents her material clearly and accurately. Many foreigners have come to Denmark to study the Folk High Schools, but their writings have often betrayed a lack of thorough understanding of basic principles or characteristic features of this form of school. Dr. Davies is however a reliable guide for she has mastered her subject. One must frequently admire her for her ability to state essential facts briefly and for the excellent way in which she has translated peculiar Grundtvigian expressions which are not easily rendered into English.

Another phase of Grundtvig's many sided genius, his hymns, is treated in Aaberg's book. This Danish-born author has for nearly forty years served as pastor in the Danish Lutheran Church of America, for the last two decades in Minneapolis. His book deals with his favorite subject and presents the fruit of many years of labor of love. Dr. J. C. Bay, the librarian of John Crerar, has rightly called it "a masterpiece," and "one of the finest contributions by any Dane to the uplift of American life."

Pastor Aaberg gives an excellent historical and biographical account of the most important hymn writers of Denmark. They are vividly portrayed against the background of the time in which they lived and their poetic productions are ably evaluated.

The most valuable contribution of the Church of Denmark of America will doubtless be made through her rich and precious hymn heritage, for many of the characteristic developments in the theology and the Christian life of Denmark have found classical expressions in the great hymns, both from the orthodox, the pietistic, and the modern period, especially through the three great bishops, Kingo, Brorson, and Grundtvig. Aaberg does not only give an historical account of the background of the hymns, but also his own translations of many of them. Through the last two decades he has proven himself to be one of the most able of several men who deserve lasting credit for having given English form to hundreds of Danish hymns.

Apart from the fact that this book has a few unfortunate phrases and quite a few misprints, one can only give the highest praise to his work.

Finally, as to Kjaer's historical guide. The writer, who at present is in overseas service as an army chaplain, is one of the talented young pastors in the Danish Lutheran Church. Born in Denmark, trained in American theological schools, he has taken a considerable amount of post-graduate studies at the Chicago University. His book is but an unpretentious popular outline, purposely written in such a way that any child can follow the story of the Church of Denmark from her earliest days to the present. But it fills a real need. For with the exception of Dr. Oscar Andersen's *Survey of the History of the Church in Denmark*, it is the only available material in English of its kind. The last forty-five pages deal with the period since 1800 in which the Church of Denmark has produced so many outstanding men and movements. The book is illustrated by a large number of well selected pictures.

Trinity Seminary, Blair, Nebr.

Paul C. Nyholm.

THE TRAIL OF THE FLORIDA CIRCUIT RIDER

By CHARLES T. THRIFT, JR. Lakeland, Fla.: Florida Southern Press, 1944. 168 pages. \$2.00.

This is a brief history of Methodism in Florida published in 1944 in connection with the celebration of the centennial of the organization of a Methodist annual conference in Florida. The author is a professor in Florida Southern College at Lakeland, Florida, and also secretary of the Methodist Historical Society of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church. He is, therefore, well qualified for the work he has undertaken in this book.

The story of the circuit rider and early Methodism never grows old. It is a part of the American tradition. Across the years a great many books have been written dealing with the circuit rider and his role in pioneer period has been discussed by many secular historians. It is not too much to say, however, that justice has not yet been done to the circuit rider, and material dealing with his work is always welcome.

Professor Thrift's book, however, does not deal largely with the circuit rider himself, but with the whole history of Florida Methodism down to the present time. Naturally, the subject could not be adequately covered in a small volume of a popular nature but the work has been well done and the author has made a valuable contribution.

New York City.

Elmer T. Clark

THE CHURCH COLLEGE OF THE OLD SOUTH

By ALBEA GODBOLD. Durham: Duke University Press, 1944. 221 pages. \$3.00.

At the present time, when higher education is in the midst of a critical reorganization, it is peculiarly appropriate that attention be given to the manner in which many of the colleges came into existence. The movement for the founding of colleges and universities constitutes one of the most significant, yet one of the most neglected, phases of our social and cultural history. This movement cannot be studied, much less be fully appreciated at its full value, without recognizing the services rendered by the denominational college in the perpetuation of culture as well as religion on the American frontier. Through the establishment of many small colleges scattered over the country, the elements of culture as well as religion were effectively maintained and perpetuated in a frontier society, cut off as it was in large measure from the developments that were taking place in Europe in the early nineteenth century. Denominational colleges served not only as strategic centers of varying religious interests, but also as radiating centers of varying cultural patterns. These colleges played an important part in the formation and perpetuation of the fundamental elements of culture as well as in the propagation of religion on the wide front of an advancing population.

Analyzing the motives and ideals which impelled the churches to establish colleges in the Old South, the author finds that they were: (1) the need for a better trained ministry; (2) the desire to establish a more

democratic opportunity in higher education and to lower costs; (3) the urge to strengthen denominational loyalty and to propagate Christian doctrines; and (4) the fear of state-controlled education. This analysis of motivation is the chief merit of the volume, for the analysis of the total contribution of these colleges to southern culture is rather superficial, being expressed in terms of low academic standards, the absence of inter-collegiate athletics, and detailed lists of rules of conduct. Little attention is given to the tremendous cultural significance of the colleges as a group; or to individual colleges like Emory, which influenced social and political development in Florida almost as much as it did in Georgia. Only four colleges under other than church auspices were founded in the four states before the Civil War.

The volume is largely an epitome of the histories and catalogues of twenty-five colleges in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia during the four decades following 1820. These four states are rather artificially segregated from the remainder of the South, even the "Old South," to say nothing of the failure to link the southern development with similar activity in other parts of the nation. More than thirty denominational colleges were established in the remainder of the South during the same four decades, but not one reference is made to their existence. Comparisons with similar enterprises in the various sections would have proved helpful. In spite of these faults, the mass of details presented make the volume quite useful, but a volume on the South comparable to what Tewksbury did for the nation is yet to be written.

Florida Southern College.

Charles T. Thrift, Jr.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN LATIN AMERICA?

By GEORGE P. HOWARD. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1944. \$2.00.

GREATER GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY

By WADE CRAWFORD BARCLAY, Chicago-New York: Willet, Clark & Co., 1945. \$2.50.

These two books deal with varying aspects of some of the basic issues in the western hemisphere, namely the religious question as it relates to governments (the church-state relationship), religious freedom in the broader sense, the contribution of Protestantism to inter-American understanding and the challenge to the forces of Christianity at the present time.

Dr. George P. Howard has had a unique experience. Born of American parents in Argentina he is equally at home in Anglo-Saxon and Latin America. As religious lecturer under the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America he has travelled widely in the western hemisphere and has an intimate knowledge of its cultural and religious problems. On a visit to the United States during 1943 he was surprised and shocked to find an organized movement, calculated to convince the North American public and the State Department that Protestant missions were inimical to friendly relations between the Americas and that Protestant missionaries from North America should be withdrawn.

In view of this serious charge, Dr. Howard made a special journey round Latin America and interviewed representative Latin Americans, lawyers, teachers, statesmen, writers and diplomats, most of whom were Roman Catholics. The signed statements of these men and women revealed, first of all, a deep concern because the official policy of the United States seemed to strengthen "the political power of the Catholic Church especially in those countries in which that Church adheres to the autocratic forces of government," and secondly, these statements showed a profound realization of the contribution Protestant missions have made in education, character building, agriculture, private and public morality and community welfare. No evidence could be clearer and more convincing than these testimonies.

Dr. Howard voices his own conclusions based on this evidence. Recognizing with shame "Protestantism's sectarian proliferation," he says Protestant missions in Latin America must continue because of the great spiritual hunger among men and because we have a mandate to make Christ known. He also recognizes the cultural differences between North and South America but asks, "Do not Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians have in Christ that sure foundation on which to build?"

This book emphasizes the fact that the existence of religious freedom in Latin America is relevant to the furtherance of a Good Neighbor Policy and that Protestant missions have greatly contributed to inter-American understanding and goodwill.

Dr. Barclay's book is based on a thorough examination and evaluation of many reliable documents and sources of information, covering a wide range of interests.

A rich and wide experience as an author especially in the field of religious education and his first-hand knowledge of the Latin American countries fit Dr. Barclay eminently for the task he has set himself.

Recognizing the value of the Good Neighbor Policy, Dr. Barclay believes that it is not sufficient in itself to bring about a real inter-American solidarity and understanding. Solidarity and unity were of paramount importance during the war, but far transcending unity for military defense or political purposes is that deeper unity for the achieving of democracy and the building of a truly Christian society in this hemisphere. Dr. Barclay pleads for a "Greater Good Neighbor Policy" which will go deeper than a political policy. His main contention is that inter-American unity must be conceived in ethical and spiritual terms. It must have, in other words, a moral and religious base.

In view of the divergences of culture, tradition and religion between North and South America is real hemisphere unity possible? Certainly far more is involved than the mere exercise of a paternalistic good neighborliness on the part of the United States government. Here is a tremendous challenge to organized Christianity. Can Christianity in its existing forms, Roman Catholic and Protestant, display the willingness and the power to produce the ethical and spiritual transformation necessary?

Some point to the insistence of the popes on cooperation among men of good will in behalf of moral and religious ends. What does Roman Catholicism mean by cooperation? Is the Roman Church prepared to cooperate in the areas of religious freedom and of a free untrammelled ed-

ucation, in the revitalization of outmoded religious forms and methods, and in the reconstruction of a truly Christian economic order? Dr. Barclay discusses all these questions and issues a great challenge to the Christian Church which must provide "an intelligent, skilled, deeply consecrated Christian leadership in every department of social, political and religious life."

Most writers in Latin America have deliberately avoided the religious issue. No one can read these two books without being convinced that it is the most fundamental and important of all, because religion determines morality and touches every phase of human life.

Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, W. Stanley Rycroft.
New York City.

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A LIST OF ARTICLES DEALING WITH THE FIELD OF CHURCH HISTORY

Compiled by J. H. Nichols

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Arnold Ehrhardt, "The Beginnings of Mon-Episcopacy" *The Church Quarterly Review*, July-Sept., 1945. 115-126.

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- L. Dieu, "La persécution au II^e siècle, Une loi fantôme" *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 1942. 5-19.
- F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, "The Holy Communion in Ambrose of Milan" *The Church Quarterly Review*, July-Sept., 1945. 127-153.
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- J. de Ghellinck, S. J., "Les recherches sur l'origine du symbole depuis XXV années" (à suivre) *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 1942. 97-142.
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- M. Alamo, "Nouveaux éclaircissements sur le Maître et S. Benoît" *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 1942. 332-360.
- J. I. Hornsby, "Vigilantius; An Early Gallic Protestant" *The Evangelical Quarterly*, July, 1945. 182-196.
- M. Alamo, O.S.B., "Les lettres de S. Braulion— sont-elles authentiques?" *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 1942. 417-421.
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- G. Morin, "Sur la Provenance du *Missale Gothicum*" *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 1941. 24-30.
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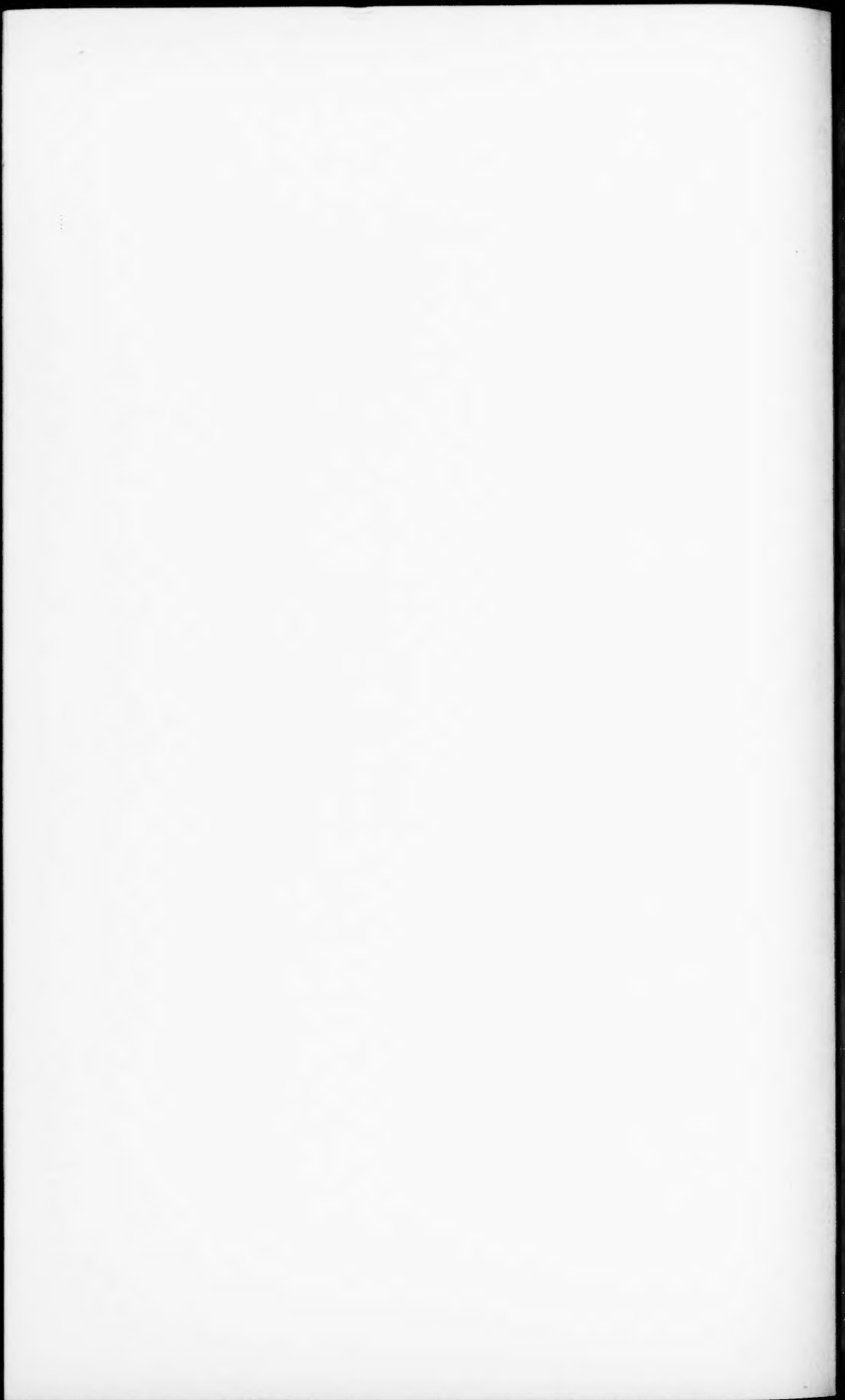
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